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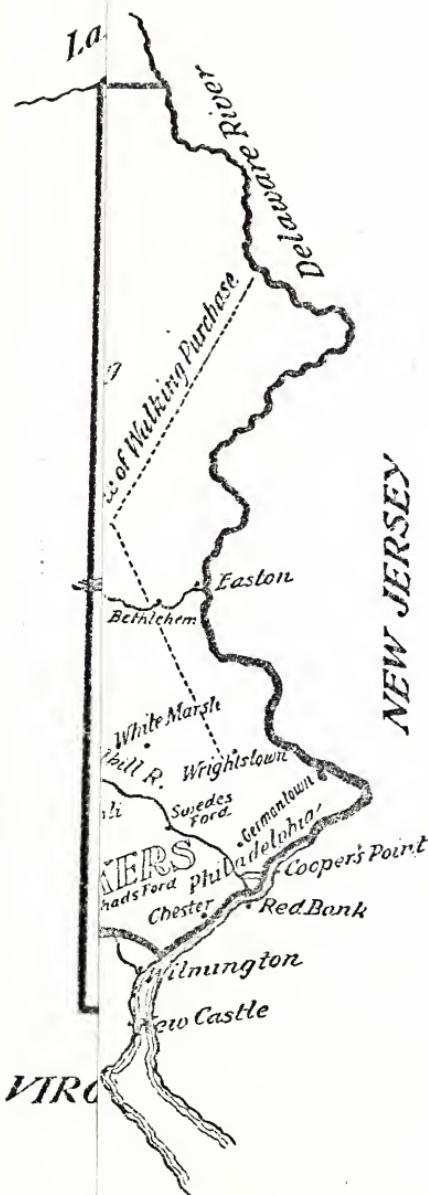
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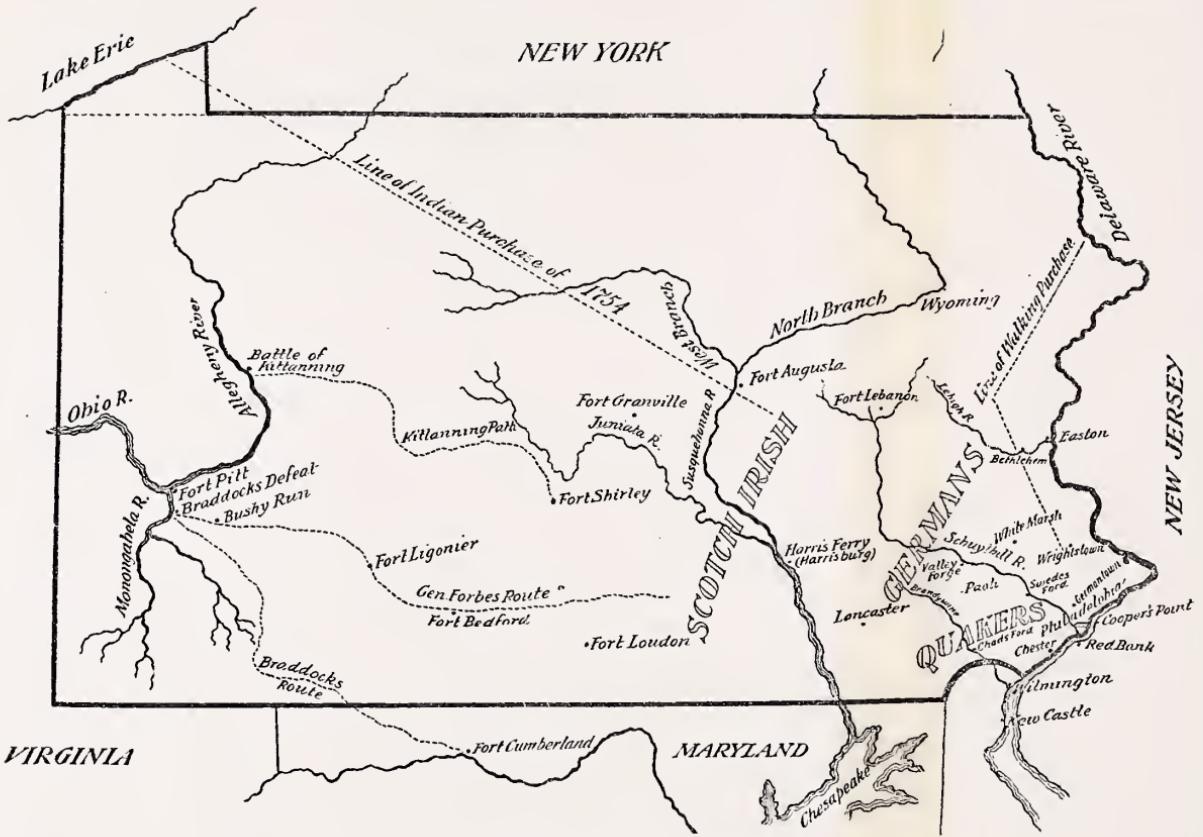
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PENNSYLVANIA
COLONY AND COMMONWEALTH

NEW JERSEY





MAP OF COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA.

PENNSYLVANIA

COLONY AND COMMONWEALTH

BY

SYDNEY GEORGE FISHER

AUTHOR OF "THE MAKING OF PENNSYLVANIA"

PHILADELPHIA

HENRY T. COATES AND COMPANY

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INTRODUCTION

IN the previous volume, "The Making of Pennsylvania," a full account was given of the numerous nationalities and religions which made up the population of the province. The Dutch, Swedes, English, Germans, Welsh, and Scotch-Irish, together with their different religions, Quaker, Lutheran, Reformed, Episcopalian, Tunker, Mennonite, Schwenkfelder, Moravian, and Presbyterian, were each considered in detail, and there was also a chapter on the Connecticut Invasion, which introduced a New England element into the population.

This discussion was necessary to an intelligent understanding of the history of the State, not only because it showed of what sort of people we were composed, but because many of these divisions, especially the Germans, Scotch-Irish, and Connecticut people, lived an isolated life, forming almost distinct colonies of their own; and in any truthful history of the State it is necessary that this should clearly appear.

"The Making of Pennsylvania" having shown this original isolation of the elements of the population,

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and having given with some detail the history of each, as it grew in its own way, and having also described the boundary disputes with Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia, by which the size of the territory which was to contain this very miscellaneous population was determined, it remains to give the general history of the State as a whole. This may be described as the narrative or social and political history,—the history which shows the growth of civil and constitutional liberty, the gradual formation of a colony into a commonwealth, and the adventures and trials through which it passed.

The first and most important point to notice in relation to this history is, that for nearly a hundred years, from 1682 to 1776, it is concerned principally with only one of the great divisions of the population; namely, the Quakers. The province was theirs; and they controlled its policy and legislation down to the summer of 1776, when their power was destroyed almost in a moment. The present history is therefore compelled to leave in the background most of the diversified elements of the people and their social life among themselves, and to bring forward and make conspicuous only one of them. The Quakers are our heroes, and the other divisions are subsidiary characters.

During the first seventy years the political history of the colony may be said to be exclusively a history of the Quakers, because the Church of England people, who were their opponents during that time, were so few in numbers that they played a comparatively insign-

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nificant part. During those same years, the Germans were pouring into the colony by thousands and the Scotch-Irish by hundreds, and going off into the wilderness to live by themselves, leaving the Quakers in undisturbed control of politics. At the same time the Church of England people were also gradually increasing, and other elements were adding themselves to the population.

It was not, however, until about the year 1755, when the French and Indian Wars began, that we find any of the other elements assuming an important position in political contests. At that time, both the Churchmen and the Scotch-Irish became very bitter opponents of the Quakers, but utterly failed to drive them from power, because the Germans never forgot the debt of gratitude they owed the Quakers, and always voted on their side. From 1755, therefore, until the Revolution, we are able to see something of other elements of the population than the Quakers. During the Revolution the Quakers disappear entirely, and the Presbyterians and Scotch-Irish are in the ascendant.

Another very important point to be noticed in this history is the gradual but sure and steady way in which the Quakers, during their long control, developed the civil liberty of the province. In Massachusetts the colonists, for the first fifty years, enjoyed what was in effect political independence, elected their own governors, and made their own laws without any interference from England. At the end of that time their Charter was annulled, their liberties lost, and they

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came under direct royal rule through governors appointed by the crown. At the accession of William III. to the throne, they rebelled to regain their liberties, but lost them again, and were held under closer rule than ever, which, being increased after the passage of the Stamp Act, made them the most violent agitators in the Revolution. Virginia had a somewhat similar experience of an easy, almost independent, government at first and tyranny afterward. Other colonies went through somewhat the same varied experiences, except Connecticut and Rhode Island, whose forms of government, liberal in the beginning, went on without change through the whole colonial period.

But Pennsylvania, starting as a feudal proprietary province, under the treble control of deputy-governors, proprietor, and king, gradually worked out for herself a body of constitutional liberty, which, at the time of the Revolution, gave her such a satisfactory form of government that it was a great obstacle in the way of the movement for independence. The development of this civil liberty was very slow, step by step and year by year, without rebellions, revolutions, or violence of any kind; but there were no backward steps. Indeed, the regularity of it is very curious and remarkable, and has never yet been described. It was accomplished by continual yearly disputes with the deputy-governor and proprietors on all sorts of questions, most of them extremely petty at first sight, but all of them involving great constitutional principles of which the sturdy colonists never lost sight. The patience and persistence

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with which they worried and worried over these problems, the ingenuity with which they tried to turn every trifling circumstance into an advantage, and their endless tenacity and endurance, were extremely Anglo-Saxon.

It must be admitted that to unravel the tangled skein of their efforts through nearly a hundred years is very tedious; but at the same time it is interesting to see the resistance of king, proprietor, and governor slowly yielding before their determined purpose. When the time of the French and Indian Wars arrives, their struggles become dramatic and tragic; and there are few things in history more pathetic than the driving from power and influence in 1776 of the men who had so patiently built up the noble fabric of the liberties of the province.

Unfortunately the historians of Pennsylvania have always failed to grasp this slow development of our civil liberty. In its earliest movements they see in it nothing but petty disputes, which they make still more petty by their ridicule; and in the heroic struggle to preserve the province's liberty in the French and Indian Wars, they are again stupidly blind to the true situation, and place the province in the position of opposing the best interests of America.

There is no State whose early history has been so thoroughly misunderstood. Our own writers have misunderstood it, and other writers, like Parkman, in his "Conspiracy of Pontiac," have indulged themselves in an insanity of abuse of every act and motive of our

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people, until it is hard to find in the general literature of the country a single passage containing a good word for Colonial Pennsylvania.

Our position during the Revolution is another unexplored domain of which there is no connected account. There were two revolutions going on in Pennsylvania during the war for independence,—one was part of the general revolution affecting the whole continent, and the other was a revolution within the State, reversing its policy of a hundred years and bringing into power entirely new forces and new people. It was a turmoil and confusion very difficult to understand at this late day. Our own writers have scarcely touched upon it; and the little that has been written is by opponents of the State, inspired by prejudice, and not inclined to uphold either the conduct of our people or the characters of our public men.

The present volume completes our history to the time of the Whiskey Rebellion, or in effect to the close of the eighteenth century. The history of the present century would require another volume, and would be extremely difficult to write in a way that would interest readers, because the material is not yet collected.

It has been thought well, however, to add to the present volume two chapters,—one on the services of the State in the Civil War, and the other on the Pre-eminence of Philadelphia. The chapter on Philadelphia includes a discussion of the effects of the introduction of the public-school system in 1834, which in many respects was the most important event in our history

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during the present century; and the Civil War and our resistance to Lee at Gettysburg form, of course, another great event. These two are our most important episodes since 1800, and the material from which they may be described is easily accessible.

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CHAPTER I

PENN TAKES POSSESSION

IN "The Making of Pennsylvania" the occupation of the Delaware by the Dutch and Swedes was described, and the easy, contented life they led on the meadows and marshes without any attempt to penetrate the interior. There was a vast abundance of game and fish, and they pastured their cattle on the rich grass. But other eyes were turned upon the land; and it was desired by more earnest souls, who intended to penetrate far beyond the marshes.

It is commonly supposed that the idea of having a great province on the Delaware as a refuge for the Quakers originated with William Penn. It was suggested to him, it is said, by his connection with New Jersey,—of one part of which he was a co-owner and of the other part a trustee,—and also by the thought that the crown still owed him the £16,000 due to his father, and might be willing to pay it in wild land. A careful investigation, however, shows that the original conception of Pennsylvania as a commonwealth was not with William Penn at all, but with George Fox and

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the Quakers, and Penn was merely the instrument to carry out their purpose.

Soon after the year 1650, when the Quakers were organized as a sect, George Fox, their leader, appears to have made definite inquiries as to the availability for settlement of the mountains and forests which were said to lie north of Maryland. A certain Quaker, Josiah Cole, had travelled in America and been much among the Indian tribes. Fox consulted with him; and on his second visit to America, in 1660, he was commissioned to treat with the Susquehanna Indians, whose territory seemed to be the only available land near the seashore not already taken by white men. In November, 1660, Cole wrote to Fox the result of his inquiries; and the letter is quoted in Bowden's "History of the Friends in America" (vol. i. p. 389):

"DEAR GEORGE,—As concerning Friends buying a piece of land of the Susquehanna Indians I have spoken of it to them & told them what thou said concerning it; but their answer was, that there is no land that is habitable or fit for situation beyond Baltimore's liberty till they come to or near the Susquehanna's Fort."

The letter goes on to say that nothing could be accomplished in the way of purchase because the Indians were at war with one another, and William Fuller, a Maryland Quaker of much influence, was absent. But although nothing definite could be done, the subject was no doubt much debated among the followers of Fox in England.

The discussion reached the ears of a student of Christ Church College, Oxford,—a tall, strong young man, devoted to athletic sports, but with a serious cast of

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countenance and large handsome eyes. Christ Church College, the training-school of the English nobility, was not exactly a place for religious enthusiasm. Young William Penn, though not a nobleman, was the associate of noblemen, for his father was one of the great admirals of the age, and stood high in favor at court. He looked forward to court preferment and high distinction for his son, and educated him for that purpose. But young Penn had wandered occasionally from the college precincts and listened to a Quaker preacher, and, as his father, the admiral, would have said, had become infatuated.

A youth of such broad sympathies as Penn was easily led away by the refined spirituality of the early Quakers; and how attractive to such a boy must have been the thought of a refuge in the American wilderness,—a home for his pure faith in the virgin woods, far from corruption, imprisonment, tithes, and cruel men; a commonwealth reared afresh out of nature by manly effort and adventure, where they could try the experiment of their principles in their truest form. How a college lad would dwell and enlarge on such a theme! And did he exaggerate when afterward he spoke of it as "an opening of joy"? We can see him now in his room at Christ Church, that nurse of so many leaders of men, with his athletic figure and his great sincere black eyes, as he pondered and dreamed and built up the ideal.

Twenty years afterward, when he had obtained the grant of Pennsylvania from the crown, he wrote, "I had an opening of joy as to these parts in the year 1661 at Oxford."¹ Every year there are college boys

¹ Janney's Life of Penn, 163.

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that have dreams, but very few bring them to fulfilment like Penn.

The dreamer became a man. He left his college, and for twenty years learned the world. He became by turns a soldier, traveller, fop, fanatic, courtier, his nature shifting and hesitating between the two influences he had received at Oxford, — the love of pleasure and distinction and a courtier's life, and the religious infection which his father detested. He was whipped for that religious infection and driven from home by that stern father, who, after Blake, was the greatest naval officer of the century. Sometimes he yielded to his father's wishes, sometimes to the impulses of the new religion. At his father's wish he became a soldier for a time, and at another time travelled in France with the gay people of the court. But in the end the religious feeling triumphed, and in spite of the father it rapidly began to absorb the young man's whole life. So much did it absorb him, and so famous did he become as an advocate of the new faith, that the father yielded and forgave him.

About the year 1680 young Penn found himself at the age of thirty-six, with his father dead, and a debt due him from the crown of £16,000 for services which his distinguished father had rendered. The subject of a home in the new world was still in the minds of his sect; and Penn saw an opportunity in the debt due him from the crown to secure a grant of the necessary land. He applied to Charles II. in 1681, and the debt of £16,000 was cancelled by a gift to Penn of the largest tract of territory that had ever been given in America to a single individual. In addition to this and for the sake of controlling the free navi-

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gation of the Delaware all the way to the sea, Penn secured from the Duke of York the free gift of the territory now included in the State of Delaware. The vastness of these grants and the ease with which they were obtained shows how powerful was Penn's influence at court. He held the extraordinary position of being popular among the aristocracy, who despised his religion and, so far as that religion was concerned, believed him to be nothing but a disturber of the peace. This good fortune of being liked by opposing classes he owed to the broadness of his sympathy and his perfect courage, frankness, and sincerity.

The charter or grant of Pennsylvania, unlike many of the colonial charters, was not for the purpose of creating a trading corporation, but simply gave the land of the province into the hands of a single individual, and gave also to that individual the privilege of creating a political government. Penn had the fee-simple title to over forty thousand square miles of territory, and could adopt for it any form of government he chose, provided that the majority of his colonists consented. If, however, on any sudden emergency, the freemen could not assemble, the Charter gave Penn the right to make laws without their consent.

Penn was by his Charter governor of the province as well as proprietor, and it was often in his mind to live in his colony, and exercise the powers of a governor in person. But various circumstances prevented the fulfilment of this, and he enjoyed the pleasure of direct rule over his people on only two occasions, when he made short visits to his colony. He and his children after him ruled their possessions almost exclusively by depu-

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ties. That long list of persons called colonial governors of Pennsylvania is merely a list of the agents of the proprietor, who was the true governor. These deputy-governors acted under instructions; and the people, when irritated, were not slow to remind them of their subservient position.

Besides being the political governor of the province, Penn was also the feudal lord and owner of all the land. It was his intention to sell it to the settlers from time to time in such tracts as should be convenient, reserving on the tracts sold a small quit-rent to be paid to him and his heirs forever. Some lands were sold for a price in addition to the quit-rent, and others for the quit-rent alone. It was a pleasant arrangement for the proprietor and governor; for although neither the selling-price nor the rent was very large, yet when forty thousand square miles had been sold in this way, the governor would be a very rich man, not only in capital, but in yearly income.

The reservation of rent to be paid forever fortified him in his position of lord of the manor, and made all the colonists his tenants. It was thoroughly feudal, and always a cause of more or less dissatisfaction among the people, but not so much as might be expected; for the proprietors were on the whole not disliked; and in the Revolution, when the people could have confiscated every penny in Pennsylvania that belonged to the founder's family, they not only left them in possession of a large part of their land, but paid them handsomely for the part that was taken.

The securing of this great domain in America must have gratified to the utmost the two most prominent

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impulses in Penn's character. He never could rid himself of the feelings inherited from his father and developed by associations at Oxford and the court. He loved high life and distinction. He never forgot that as his father's son he was entitled to respect and honor; and as lord of millions of acres in America, he felt that his position as a man of affairs in England was vastly augmented, and that a fortune was secured for himself and his family. But on the other hand the devotion to his sect was equally strong. He had labored for them for years, gone to prison for preaching at their meetings, and gone to prison for writing books and pamphlets in favor of their doctrines. He was not only building up for himself a great position and name, but was establishing for the people of his faith a home in the country they had been seeking in vain for more than twenty years. The debt due him from the crown, his love of distinction, and his love of his religion had combined in a most curious way to produce what promised to be a grand success.

Pennsylvania was not only the greatest proprietary province in point of size, but it was also the most successful one. The proprietorships in Maine, New Hampshire, and the Carolinas were utter failures. Maryland was only partially successful; it was never very remunerative, and the crown deprived the Baltimores of their control of it for over twenty years. But William Penn was deprived of his province by William III. for only about two years; and except for that short time he and his sons held their province down to the American Revolution of 1776, a period of ninety-four years.

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The creation by one man of such a huge, prosperous, and powerful empire, and its possession by himself and his children as a feudal barony for such a length of time, has, we believe, no parallel in the history of the world. Kings have possessed themselves of such domains, but never before a private citizen, who scorned all titles.

When we consider the education and surroundings of Penn, his romantic youth, his learning and accomplishments, his extraordinary position of religious enthusiast and courtier, and that he established his great province on the most liberal and advanced principles of his time, — principles, indeed, which the rest of the world has only recently adopted, — we can understand why Pennsylvania became the wonder and talk of all Europe, as a most remarkable experiment by a most interesting man, and why Voltaire would never to the end of his life give up the thought that it was an ideal spot for human existence, and the refuge for all lovers of liberty as well as philosophers.

Penn expected his colony to be peopled by Quakers; and as soon as he had obtained his Charter, he advertised for settlers and appointed his cousin, William Markham, to be deputy-governor. Markham sailed almost immediately, and seems to have gone by way of Boston, where he recorded his commission. He travelled by way of New York, and arrived on the Delaware July 1, 1681, which may be considered as the date when Penn took possession.

Markham immediately began to arrange for the purchase of the land from the Indians. He fixed on Upland, now Chester, for his headquarters, where he

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held court and ruled over the Swedes and Dutch, and also the English that he found on the land. He continued in this way for more than a year with but few additions to his people, until on the 27th of October, 1682, Penn arrived at New Castle with many settlers in the ship "Welcome."

Penn landed at New Castle, exhibited the deeds of the Duke of York giving him what is now the State of Delaware, and, having placed the government of that country in safe hands, proceeded to Upland to take possession of Pennsylvania and form its constitution. Immediately upon landing at Upland, he turned to his friend Pearson, saying that this was a memorable event and asking him to name the town; and Pearson gave it the name of his native city, Chester.

A day or so afterward, Penn, it is said, was rowed in a barge from Chester to the present site of Philadelphia,—a memorable excursion upon which the fancy of historian and biographer has long delighted to dwell. It was one of the last days of October; and that reach of the river now so familiar to Philadelphians must have been a fascinating scene in its perfect wildness, the autumn tints upon the shores, the millions of birds upon the waters, and the deep stillness of the wilderness all around. He landed where the high land had long shown to explorers the site for a great city. The steep bank was penetrated by a little stream, deep at its mouth, with a low sandy beach making a natural landing-place, and the line of it is now marked by Dock Street. It was a pretty spot; a stray settler had already built his house there; and Penn was charmed with the situation.

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The Indians, it is said, were there to meet him; and there is also a tradition that on this occasion he sat with them on the ground, ate their roasted acorns, and afterwards recalled his college days by contending with them in a jumping match in which his agility surprised them. The story is not at all unlikely; for Penn cared little for formal dignity, and when he erred in such matters it was usually on the side of levity. He was, moreover, at that time only thirty-eight years old, with the athletic, handsome figure that his cavalier training had developed.

Philadelphia had already been decreed into existence, its streets mapped out by his commissioners, and perhaps some progress made in marking them on the ground. The present Walnut Street was called Pool Street, and Chestnut Street was Union Street; but Penn afterward gave them the names they now bear, from the trees that grew near them.

But although Philadelphia was begun, business must still be transacted at Chester; and writs were issued, summoning the freeholders to meet at that place and elect representatives to a General Assembly which was to meet in December and accept or reject the "Frame of Government" and the "Laws Agreed upon in England." These two documents had been published by Penn in England during the previous spring, and were spoken of as the "Printed Laws" and the "Written Laws, or Constitution."

"The Printed Laws," or the "Laws Agreed upon in England," gave the Assembly little trouble, and were readily passed. They had already been considered in England, and they contained nothing more than simple

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rules of order, and raised no disputed questions of principle. They defined who should be freemen and have the right to vote, and the term included land-holders and also such inhabitants and artificers as paid "scot and lot to the government." They provided for courts, trial by jury, prisons, marriages, and register of births. The only provisions at all striking or new were those for registering deeds, giving the estates of murderers to the next of kin of the sufferer and of the criminal, abolishing oaths, and establishing freedom of worship.

The "Frame of Government," as it was called, was what we should now call a constitution, and carried out that portion of the Charter which gave Penn the privilege of joining with the freemen in creating the political government. In this constitution he enlarged on government as a divine institution; and as we read this rather dull preamble we soon come to the passage so often quoted, wherein he says that any government is free where the laws rule and the people are a party to the laws, which is immediately followed by another passage equally sensible and Saxon: —

"But lastly, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its founders, that in good hands would not do well enough. . . . Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them, and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too."

Coming more to particulars, he provided for a provincial council of seventy-two members, to be elected by the people; and this council was to propose laws,

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which should be submitted for the approval of the General Assembly, also to be elected by the people. The governor and this provincial council were to form the executive part of the government, guard the peace and safety of the colony, see that all laws were enforced, locate cities, ports, streets, and roads, inspect the management of the treasury, establish public schools, courts of justice, and appoint judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and coroners. The evident intention was that the governor and Council should be the ruling body, with the General Assembly as a check on their proceedings, but without any power in the Assembly to originate laws, which were to be first proposed in every instance by the Council. This Frame, as he called it, Penn professed to regard as a contract between him and the people, not to be altered without the consent of himself or his heirs and six parts out of seven of the freemen in Council and General Assembly.

The Assembly accepted the Frame, and it became the first Constitution of Pennsylvania. The laws they also accepted, and re-enacted them with many additions in what became known as the "Great Law." It begins by establishing religious liberty in the manner in which it was then understood, by allowing freedom of worship to all who acknowledged one God; and the further qualification is added that members of Assembly and all officers of government, as well as those who voted for them, should be such as believed Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and Saviour of the world.

The Great Law goes on with many minute provisions against swearing, cursing, drunkenness, health-drinking, card-playing, scolding, and lying in conversation, a law

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making every prison a work-house or reformatory, and various other regulations and details which the careful consideration of the Assembly suggested. There was also a law to naturalize the Swedes and other foreigners that were found on the land, and an Act of Union, as it was called, which annexed to Pennsylvania the province of Delaware, then called "The Territories," or "three lower counties."

The people of Delaware had of their own accord asked to be under the government of Pennsylvania, and this made Penn's rule over them more legitimate; for the deeds from the Duke of York giving him Delaware conveyed only a title to the land and gave no power of political government.

The province was now a commonwealth, and began to have politics. For many years these politics consisted of what seem like very petty disputes, tiresome to investigate and equally tiresome to read. But in one sense they were important; for they show the instincts of the people and the gradual manner in which they developed their liberties.

At the first meeting of the Council and Assembly they objected to the large number of representatives, and asked also that the Assembly might have the right to originate laws. Penn listened patiently to them and finally assented to the Act of Settlement, as it was called, which reduced the Council to eighteen members and the Assembly to thirty-six, but gave no right to the Assembly to originate laws.

Penn, as governor of his own province, had thus far found everything favorable; and it has usually been the opinion of historians that if he could have always re-

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mained governor in person it would have been better for Pennsylvania as well as for himself. His first stay in the colony lasted only about a year and ten months, from October, 1682, to August, 1684, but was full of activity and usefulness. He had brought a State into being, given it laws and a constitution, and doubtless settled innumerable small questions and disputes of which we have no record. He had been to New York to pay his duty to the Duke of York by visiting his province. He had made his famous treaty with the Indians under the Elm at Kensington. He had begun to build his mansion and lay out the grounds of his country-place at Pennsbury, near Bristol on the Delaware. He had travelled to Maryland to meet Lord Baltimore and discuss the boundary disputes, and he had made expeditions into the interior of the province among the Indians.

In all these journeys through New York, Long Island, Jersey, and Maryland, he preached at all the meetings of the Quakers wherever he could find them; and in the intervals of time when he was on the Delaware, he superintended the laying out of Philadelphia's streets. Within nine months after his arrival he reported to England that he had eighty houses built, and three hundred farms laid out round the town. Fifty sail, he said, had come into the river since the previous summer; and it has been supposed that during the first year nearly three thousand persons arrived. It must have been an interesting scene at Philadelphia with the handsome, accomplished young proprietor moving about among the people and suggesting plans for their houses, while all were stimulated with the novelty of

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the enterprise, the freshness of the wilderness, and the abundance of game. The wild pigeons came in such numbers, and flew so low, that they could be knocked down with sticks; and those that were not immediately used were salted and stored away.

The year and ten months of his stay must have been as happy as any Penn had spent. His affability, fairness, and frankness of manner won the complete devotion of the people. His industry and keen observation are abundantly shown in the long letter he wrote to the Free Society of Traders, with a description of the province, its woods and waters, its animals and men, which can still be read with the greatest interest, and is all the more valuable because of its excellent tone and manner. Penn was far above the fulsome and nauseous boasting, as well as the mock-modest advocacy, which then, as now, were only too common with land speculators.

Unfortunately, while in the midst of these pleasures, the dispute with Lord Baltimore about the Maryland boundary took him back to England. Lord Baltimore had already started, and evidently with the intention of appealing to the king. Penn must follow, and he sailed on the 12th of August, 1684.

He provided that during his absence in England his power as governor should be delegated to the Provincial Council, whose president, a prominent Welsh Quaker named Thomas Lloyd, naturally became the executive of the province. As the Assembly had not been allowed to originate bills, they were determined to use to the utmost their power to reject them when originated by the Council. They took advantage of the slightest

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mistakes the Council made; and this was the first decided stand of the Assembly, and the beginning of a long contest by which the liberty of the province was developed. They worried the proprietorship by what seem very trifling disputes; but in fifty years the result was large.

They had a great advantage in the custom of passing laws which should be in force only one year. At the end of the year, if the Council would not yield to their wishes, they would refuse to renew the laws, which was in effect to threaten to leave the colony without any laws at all. They produced a dead lock several times in this way, to the great annoyance of Penn. He wanted to go out and again take personal charge, but the boundary dispute with Baltimore kept him in England. He was indignant that no money came from the province, and he declared he was already £5,000 behindhand. He would never, he said, be governor again unless the people provided for his table, cellar, and stable, and gave him a barge and a yacht.

He saw that he had made a mistake in delegating his power to the Council, which was, in effect, an attempt to place eighteen governors over the province; and he thought if he reduced the number to five they would succeed better than the eighteen. He accordingly commissioned five of the councillors, Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas More, James Claypoole, Robert Turner, and John Eckley, authorizing them, or any three of them, to act as the executive under the name of Commissioners of State. More and Claypoole never acted, and Arthur Cook and John Symcock were appointed in their places.

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Although their commission was dated the 1st of February, 1686, it was long before it reached the province; and the commissioners did not take control until February, 1688. Penn was thoroughly disgusted with the confusions in the province, and had evidently determined to use his full authority. In his instructions to the commissioners he told them that they had power to enact, annul, or vary laws as if he himself were present. They were to keep the Provincial Council to its duty; and if that body continued in its slothful and dishonorable attendance, he would without more ado dissolve the Frame of Government. No more open parleys or conferences between Council and Assembly were to be allowed. At the next meeting of the Assembly the commissioners were to announce that all laws except the fundamentals were abrogated. They were then to dismiss the Assembly, and, having called it again, to pass such of the laws afresh as seemed proper.

These extraordinary assumptions of power over the colony would have created a great commotion among the people if they had become known. But the commissioners wisely kept them secret, and went on governing in the usual way.

Whether Penn really had these great powers, the right to vary and annul laws as he pleased, and to call and dismiss the Assembly, is still an open question; for his commissioners saved him from the misfortune of putting it to the test, and it is now perhaps hardly worth while to argue it. The Charter gave him the right to make laws "by and with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen of the said country, or

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the greater part of them, or of their delegates." If he could not make laws without the consent of the free-men, it is reasonable to suppose that he could not annul them without their consent. This power which he claimed of annulling laws was the same which his friend James II. was at that time claiming in England; and as it was soon settled that the English king had not this power, it is not to be supposed that Penn had, without express words to that effect in his Charter.

The experiment of five deputies seems to have pleased the proprietor no better than the eighteen; and before they had been in office a year he appointed Capt. John Blackwell to be the sole deputy-governor. Penn was annoyed by the jealousies and petty quarrels among the people. He was becoming very anxious about the failure of money returns from quit-rents and sales of land, and the vicious habit the province had acquired of drawing on him to defray the expenses of government. Blackwell was an old Cromwellian soldier, and his strong hand might be of much assistance.

But Blackwell was a worse stirrer up of strife than any of the others. His appointment was not considered a compliment to Lloyd and the rest of the governing class. A soldier governor was not pleasing to the Quakers, and was inconsistent with the foundation and objects of the colony. They made it very hot for him; and he earnestly besought Penn to relieve him from a situation that was useless and ludicrous, and Penn granted his request. After having been deputy a year and a month, he joyfully announced on the 1st of January, 1790, that his rule was at an end. "'T is a

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good day," he said; "I have given and do unfainedly give God thanks for it."

Such was the end of the first attempt to put a soldier over Quakers,—a soldier, too, who was all the more disliked for being a Puritan from New England. Penn's next experiment was to offer the Council two methods of obtaining a deputy, and they might choose either one or the other, as pleased them best. The Provincial Council could nominate three persons for the office, and Penn would select one of them; or, if they liked it better, the whole Provincial Council could again act as governors. The Council chose the latter method, and they all became deputy-governors, with Thomas Lloyd, their president, once more the most important man in the colony.

But soon there was another change in the government and a return to a single head. Thomas Lloyd was made deputy-governor in 1692. Thus in ten years the government had been changed six times. At first Markham as deputy, then Penn as governor in person, then the whole Council of eighteen, then five of the Council, then a single deputy, then the whole Council, and now a single deputy again. In a few months there was another change, not made by Penn, but by William III, who, by virtue of his royal prerogative, took possession of Pennsylvania and appointed over it a military governor, or captain-general, as he was called, Col. Benjamin Fletcher.

The reasons given for the seizure of Pennsylvania by the crown were, that the province by the absence of its proprietor had been misgoverned and was in a state of great disorder; that no provision for military

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defence had been made; and that it, as well as the adjacent colonies, might at any moment during the war fall into the hands of France. But Pennsylvania was so soon restored to Penn that the chief reason for taking it away, besides the military one, seems to have been a certain political expediency. William understood Penn's character and position, and had no dislike for him. But Penn had been so closely associated with James II., and so many reports were circulated against him, that the new government under William must at least have the appearance of dealing with him somewhat severely. He was accordingly several times called before the Privy Council and tried, but always easily acquitted, and his province was taken under royal control at the same time that New York and Maryland were taken under that control.

Fletcher, who was also Captain-General of New York, arrived in Philadelphia, April 26, 1693, and forthwith proceeded to carry out the new form of government described in his commission. Thomas Lloyd sturdily refused to serve under him; and so he appointed William Markham to be his deputy, and superseded the Council by one of his own appointing, which by his commission could not exceed twelve in number. He also decreased the numbers of the Assembly, — a change which his advisers earnestly protested against, but in vain.

Within a month after Fletcher's arrival the new Assembly met, and their first act was to dispute his authority. They sent an address to him, suggesting that their old laws and Constitution under Penn were still in force, and asking him to confirm them. They

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received a masterly reply reminding them very pointedly of their condition. Their old Constitution and laws, they were told, had been superseded by the royal commission. The commission was in force, and Penn's laws and Constitution dissolved. This was strong, plain doctrine, and should have given the people a taste of royal government which neither they nor their descendants could forget. In the present instance there was nothing for them to do but submit, which they did as gracefully as they could.

Fletcher's principal business with them was to obtain a supply to assist the province of New York in defending its frontiers against the French. He also wanted a supply to pay the expense of his own government over them ; and the plan he suggested for both was a tax of one penny per pound on the clear value of all personal estates, and six shillings a head on all who were not otherwise rated.

This was the first experience of the Assembly with two questions which were very familiar to most of the other colonies, and soon became familiar enough in Pennsylvania,—the question of aid to Great Britain in carrying on her wars, and the question of the governor's salary. Round these two questions nearly all important colonial controversies centred; and the way in which these questions were dealt with, shaped the relations of the colonies to the mother-country.

The success of William and Mary in dethroning the Catholic James II. had brought on war with France, and the French in Canada directed their efforts against the English colonists. These wars with Canada and with the Indians under French control continued at

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intervals until 1764; and during all that time the questions were continually debated,—what part of the expense the colonies should bear, and whether this colony or that colony had furnished its fair share of men or money.

The Pennsylvania Assembly saw at once the essential point in all these questions of supplies, and acted as all the other colonial assemblies, similarly situated, acted for the next eighty years. The governor wanted supplies, and the Assembly wanted certain laws; and by delaying the supplies they could usually secure his consent to the laws. In the royal colonies this method of exchanging supplies for favorable laws became at last the only source of liberty left the people; and the fear of losing this last resource through stamp acts and tea acts brought on the Revolution.

In the present instance, however, the dispute with Fletcher over these matters was not of long continuance; for he was recalled, and the province restored to Penn, who had been deprived of it from Oct. 20, 1692, to August 20, 1694, exactly a year and ten months.

Penn was unfortunately still unable to leave England, although he had several times attempted it and had been on the eve of departure. Thomas Lloyd, the excellent Welsh Quaker, and undoubtedly the best man for governor, was dead. Markham was appointed deputy and given two assistants, John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter, by the advice of both or of one of whom he must act. This change was in effect to create an executive composed of three deputies.

Markham immediately restored the government to the condition it had been in before the arrival of

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Fletcher. But this did not prevent the Council, which assembled in 1695, from entering upon a long debate for a new modelling of the Constitution; and they seemed determined to worry out of Markham more privileges than Penn had granted them. As soon as he wanted a supply bill, they added to it some changes in government, so that one could not be rejected without the others. They secured an agreement between themselves and the Council which allowed either themselves or the Council to originate legislation. When Markham announced that he would pass none of their laws until they had given a proper supply, the Assembly informed him that it was the custom of the Commons in England never to give assent to money bills until their privileges had been first accorded them, and they intended to be no worse off than the Commons. Nothing was left to Markham but to be angry and adjourn them, which he accordingly did.

Soon afterward he attempted to coerce them. He refused to carry on the old system of Penn. In fact, he abrogated it, and began to enforce Fletcher's government, appointing a council like Fletcher's, and calling a meeting of the Assembly composed as Fletcher's had been. But he overreached himself. The people stood firm; and in the end he had to give them a complete new frame of government, allowing both Council and Assembly the right to originate legislation, allowing the Assembly to sit on their own adjournments, and allowing the governor to perform no public act of treasury or trade without the consent of a majority of the Council. The old laws and privileges under Penn were restored; and all these provisions were to remain in

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force until changed by the proprietor. This new Constitution was called "Markham's Frame;" and although never formally approved by Penn, it seems to have been always regarded as valid, and continued in force until 1700. It was the foundation of the colony's liberties. There were no backward steps, but, on the contrary, an increase of popular freedom which was maintained down to the Revolution.

At the close of the year 1699, Penn returned to be again governor in person. He was anxious about his colony, for many complaints had come to his ears of disorders and excesses. But there was nothing seriously wrong. It was growing in spite of its many governors; and complaints, gossip, and changes were to be expected in such a rapid development, where so many races and religions were jostling one another. The prosperity of Philadelphia had attracted characters not contemplated in the ideal of Quaker doctrine; and among the respectable and earnest settlers, lower orders, as they were called, began to appear. Some of these had taken possession of the caves in the river-bank, which had been occupied for a short time by the first immigrants before houses were built; and these caves had now become the scene of riot and low life. The licensing of drinking-houses was then, as ever since, a source of much difficulty. But all these things were the inevitable troubles of growth; and the people who wrote about them and exaggerated them were mere busybodies or foolish ones who expected the impossible.

Penn had, however, other reasons for returning. He was now fifty-five years old; and since he had left the province he had passed through many trying scenes,

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and borne many burdens. The dangerous years of the Revolution of 1688, his struggles for religious liberty and for his sect, his journeys, his arrests, and his imprisonments; and with these the substantial success of so many of his undertakings, and the establishment of the principles for which he had contended,—gave him a feeling that he had done his part in England and had earned a retirement to his wilderness domain. The one point where his plans had failed, the impairing of his fortune, could be remedied only by going to Pennsylvania. He gathered his family about him, took leave of his friends and his sect, and sailed for his province with the full intention of spending there the remainder of his life.

A long voyage of three months brought him to Chester, in the beginning of December, 1699. The next day he went to Philadelphia, where a crowd of the people received him at the landing; and he stepped ashore, recognizing old acquaintances in his usual hearty, unpretentious manner. It was Sunday; and after a short formal visit at Markham's house, he went in the afternoon to meeting, where he preached, and thence to Edward Shippen's, where he lived for the next month.

At the end of that month he took a home for himself and his family on the east side of Second Street, between Chestnut and Walnut, known down to our own time as the "slate-roof house." Soon afterward his son John was born there, the only one of his children born in this country, and on that account always called "the American," and always spoken of with peculiar interest and respect by the masses of the people.

The active, bustling life which had been Penn's habit

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on his first visit was again followed. He travelled over the country on horseback, preaching at Quaker meetings, visiting the Susquehanna, Maryland, and New York; and the rest of his time was filled with meetings of Council and Assembly, consultations and amusements, and the planting and care of his country-seat, Pennsbury Manor. This place had been begun under his own directions on his first visit eighteen years before; and while in England he had continued to send over instructions for its improvement. It was situated on the river twenty miles above the city, and not far from the present town of Bristol. The house cost £5,000, and there were gardens and lawns with terraces and an avenue of poplars leading to the water. The kitchen, larder, and wash-house, as was common at that time, were in separate buildings grouped around the main house, and there was a stable for twelve horses. Vistas were opened in the neighboring forests, and walks laid out among the trees. As soon as spring came, he left the slate-roof house and retired to this very luxurious abode in the midst of a wilderness.

The house contained several guest-chambers and a large hall for entertaining Indians and holding meetings of the Provincial Council. It was built of brick wainscoted with English oak and furnished in a manner which, considering the surroundings, may be called extravagant. There were Turkey worked chairs, plush and satin cushions, satin curtains, and a carpet, which at that time was an article seldom seen outside of palaces. The liberality of his entertainments may be judged from the presence of "six vessels called cisterns for holding water or beer." He believed that he understood the art

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of dining, and had a great contempt for French cookery, of which he has left a rather amusing description. Madeira was his favorite wine; but his cellar was not without canary, claret, and sack, and he built a brew-house as a part of his country-place. He was by far the most sumptuous of all the colonial governors, and a striking contrast to the economical rulers of New England.

He experimented in cultivating the native wild-flowers, imported many trees from England and Maryland, and employed a landscape-gardener from Europe. He brought over with him some fine horses,—on his first visit three full-bred mares, and on the second visit a famous colt called Tamerlane, a descendant of Godolphin. Unlike most of his sect, he approved of dancing and sports and encouraged them by his presence. He astonished the Indians by his ability in jumping and running, a part of his Oxford life which he still retained. Judging by the entries in his cash-book, he gave away a great deal in charity. He took great pleasure in his barge in which he was rowed to and from Philadelphia, and he also had a great coach, a light calash, a sedan-chair, and saddle-horses for his wife and children. They all went to "fairs, or Indian Canticoes." When he felt unwilling to meet the Provincial Council at Philadelphia, he sent his barge to bring them up to dine with him. At a feast he gave the Indians at a great table under the trees in front of his house, there are said to have been one hundred turkeys, besides venison and other food. There is also a pleasant tradition of his meeting a little barefooted girl as he was riding to meeting, and taking her up behind him on his horse. He lived as he was,

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— an unceremonious, broad-minded man, of great acquaintance and plentiful estate.

When the crowd met him at the landing at Philadelphia, there were two men in it who were not there out of friendliness,—Col. Robert Quarry, the Judge of Admiralty, and the advocate of his court, John Moore. They were Church of England men, and their office in the admiralty was to represent and protect in the province the interests of the British crown. They had been most industrious in sending complaints to the Committee of Plantations and Trade in England, charging the colony with harboring pirates, violating the navigation laws, providing no military defence, and conducting government and administering law by judges and other officials who had not been sworn, and who refused to administer oaths to others. While in England, Penn's position and influence with the Privy Council, of which the Committee of Plantations and Trade was a part, had prevented any serious result from such complaints. But Quarry, being entirely independent of Penn's government, was an alien influence which could not be controlled; and he and his party, though able to accomplish but little, could always be a nuisance and create an alarm that the province might again be seized by the crown.

There was also another troublesome man who represented another element. This was David Lloyd, a Welsh lawyer, of considerable ability, but of a revengeful, bitter nature, and the greatest obstinacy. He was a member of the Council, and Penn had made him attorney-general of the province. But he now turned against the proprietary interest, and began to create what became

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known as the "popular" party. For the next twenty or thirty years he exercised great influence in the Assembly, and may be said to have assisted in framing nearly all the early laws of the colony, to many of which he is said to have given a Welsh coloring. A great deal of his leadership of the popular party was entirely justifiable; but his personal attacks on Penn, who had always shown him and his family the greatest kindness, disclosed that beneath all his ability there was a narrow, mean spirit that could not bear the consciousness of owing gratitude to another.

Lloyd was as hostile toward Quarry and the Churchmen as toward Penn; and there were thus three parties in the province — the proprietary party, the Churchmen, and Lloyd's popular party — to squabble among themselves and make trouble. Fortunately Penn had brought with him a young man well qualified to resist both Quarry and Lloyd. This was the famous James Logan, afterward Secretary of the Province, President of the Council, and Chief Justice.

At the meeting of the Assembly in 1700, the great question was the revision of the Constitution. The amendments allowed by Markham, giving the Assembly the right to originate laws and to sit on their own adjournments, had been acted under for several years, but were not yet formally approved by Penn. In the changes of the last fifteen years the validity of the whole Constitution had become doubtful. "Was the old frame," said Penn to them, "living, dead, or asleep? Was it vacated by Markham's Amendments?" The Assembly seemed to be of the opinion that all the old laws were still in force; but Penn thought that Markham's settle-

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ment had put the old frame in abeyance, and it could be revived only by writ. He had already acted on this idea and had summoned the Assembly then before him by his own writ, as if it had no power to meet of itself.

He thus disregarded the old laws as well as Markham's settlement, and placed himself in absolute power. He was much given to this assertion of power; and as he never used it for an evil purpose or to oppress the colonists, it is difficult to find much fault with him. He felt that he had already sacrificed a large part of his fortune for the province; and his only hope of reimbursing himself, of carrying out his favorite ideas of religion and government, and preventing the colony from falling into the hands of the king, was to keep it well under control.

The Assembly, however, felt that they had also something to preserve. They could not very well stop this assumption of power; so they shrewdly pretended to take a part in it, and entered in their minutes that it had been done with their advice and consent, which they of course hoped would be a precedent against its ever again being done without their consent.

But Penn was very gracious, and to settle all doubts told them to prepare for themselves a new Constitution and embody in it anything they wanted. They seemed unable to agree on one, but meantime they formally surrendered to him the old one, and were summoned to meet again in the autumn.

They were unable, however, to reach any conclusion in their autumn meeting; nor was anything accomplished at their meeting in August of the following year, 1701. Penn's visit was now drawing to a close. He had re-

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ceived word of what he had always feared. A movement was on foot in England to have the crown purchase all the proprietary colonies; and a bill for that purpose was already before the House of Lords. The proprietor of Pennsylvania must meet this danger, and he made preparations to sail. The August session of the Assembly had only just adjourned; but he immediately called another to meet on the 15th of September and settle the question of the Constitution before his departure.

The Assembly being met, Penn urged them to review their laws and propose new ones, and they soon prepared for him a long list of twenty-one small requests, some of which he granted, and some he refused. Then came the Constitution, the Constitution of 1701, as it was called; and under it without further change the province flourished from that time until the Revolution. It was more liberal than any that had preceded it, and yet Penn signed it without hesitation or delay. Whatever may have been his assertions of supreme power at times,—and if he was to maintain his position of feudal lord and proprietor it was natural he should err on the side of power,—he certainly had no deliberate intention of oppressing his people. It may be said that it was not for his interest to oppress them, and that in giving them a liberal constitution he protected himself in case the crown should take his government. With Pennsylvania a royal colony, Penn would have been merely the largest landholder in it, and his lot would have been cast in with the people against the crown. The more he built up the liberties of the people against that evil day, the more chance would he have to protect

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both himself and the people against the oppression of a royal governor.

But independently of any motives we may suppose him to have had, there is no doubt that whenever he governed in person he was more generous and more successful and popular than any deputy he appointed. He gave rights and privileges with a free hand. He dealt frankly and openly with the people, and, as he himself expressed it, yielded in circumstantial to preserve essentials. He was the only man who could stop the petty bickerings and jealousies among the colonists; and Pennsylvania would have been a better and greater province if he had not returned to England.

The Constitution which he and the people now agreed upon gave to the Assembly the right to originate bills, determine their adjournments, choose their Speaker and other officers, judge of the qualifications and election of their own members, appoint committees, impeach State criminals, and to have in general the same powers and privileges of an assembly according to the rights of freeborn subjects of England as was usual in any of the king's plantations in America. The Provincial Council as a body elected by the people was abolished. Apparently one would suppose there was to be no Council, if it were not for a passage which said that no cases were to be heard before the governor and Council unless they should be constituted by law a court of appeals. This side reference to a council is hard to understand unless there was a tacit agreement that Penn should appoint a council. At any rate, he immediately appointed one; and the custom was continued by his heirs down to the Revolution,

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the people occasionally protesting that it was unconstitutional.

The question of tavern licenses was then as now a source of much trouble ; and this Constitution curiously enough settled the question as it has since been settled in our own time, by authorizing the judges to grant the licenses to suitable persons. Liberty of conscience was more secure than ever, and this part of the Constitution, it was declared, could never be changed. The rest could be altered by a vote of six-sevenths of the Assembly. Election day was fixed for the first of October, and remained unchanged down to the Revolution.

Our people lived under this Constitution for seventy-five years,—a longer period than they have lived under any other frame of government. The Constitution of 1776 lasted only fourteen years ; that of 1790 forty-eight years ; that of 1838 thirty-five years ; and we are still under the Constitution of 1873. The Constitution of 1701, which, it will be remembered, was not prepared by Penn, but by the Assembly with Penn assenting, was thoroughly American. It is impossible to read it without seeing how like it is to modern instruments of the same sort ; and several of its provisions bear a striking resemblance to parts of the National Constitution. It might readily have lasted more than seventy-five years. If it had not been for a faction that was bent on destroying the influence of the Quakers, this Constitution, like the charters of Rhode Island and of Connecticut, might have carried us through the Revolution and lasted far down into the present century.

The Constitution was granted by Penn, and accepted

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by the Assembly, October 28. He then appointed Andrew Hamilton, a former governor of the Jerseys, to be his deputy, and James Logan to be provincial secretary and clerk of the Council, and he gave Hamilton a council of ten to advise and assist him. This done, and having incorporated Philadelphia as a city, he stepped aboard the ship "Dalmahoy," which had dropped down to New Castle, issued his last letters of instruction and farewell, and sailed never to return.

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CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR EVANS

THE experimental period of the colony's history was now finished. The form of government was settled, definite relations between proprietor and people established, and life and success assured.

Those first eighteen or twenty years had been a struggle, but an easy one compared with the first years in other colonies. There was none of the famine, disaster, suffering, and Indian massacres through which Virginia and Massachusetts struggled into existence. The temperate climate, fertile soil, abundance of game, and friendliness of the Indians had made pioneering a mere holiday adventure. The population increased rapidly with English, Welsh, and German immigrants, and trade and prosperity followed.

As soon as Penn had departed, the Territories, as Delaware was called, took advantage of a clause in the new Constitution which allowed them to break the union. This separation, although the Territories were afterward somewhat inclined to repent of it, was final. From that time until the Revolution, Pennsylvania and Delaware, though always under the same governor, had separate legislatures.

Penn's departure for England and the reason for his going were a great delight to Quarry and the Church-

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men. The bill before Parliament to turn the proprietary colonies into royal ones was in exact accordance with their views. If it should pass, the Quakers would no longer rule the province, the executive offices would be given to Episcopilians, and the Church of England be established by law, as in Virginia. Everything looked promising for the Churchmen. They had just succeeded with much difficulty in establishing their first parish of Christ Church; and though overwhelmingly outnumbered by Quakers and Germans, they would soon, if a royal governor were appointed, be able to carry their heads above them all.

Quarry redoubled his diligence to send reports and arguments to England. The Quakers, he said, were totally unfit to govern, with war prevailing between France and England. They would provide no militia, and would not even protect themselves from pirates. The smallest French privateer might blockade the Delaware, destroy all the shipping, and burn every town. Their supposed religious liberty and scruples of conscience about war and oaths oppressed the Churchmen, who were not allowed to protect their lives and property by arms against the violence of the enemy, and when tried for their life or liberty in court were obliged to appear before judges and jurors none of whom had been sworn.

Quarry had also many charges to make against Penn himself. He had permitted illegal trade; he had invaded the jurisdiction of the Admiralty; he had invited villainous French Indians to settle in the country, so that he could monopolize trade with them, together with other supposed offences. All these

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charges, together with Penn's answers, were laid before the Privy Council, and can now be found printed in the Penn-Logan correspondence. Penn seems to have had no difficulty in convincing the Council that Quarry was simply a malicious fault-finder. Indeed, it was somewhat bold of Quarry to attack a man of such influence; for Penn as long as he lived was always a power, no matter who was on the throne.

He stopped the bill in Parliament to change the proprietorships to royal colonies; and being a favorite with Anne, who had now become Queen of England, he returned to his old court life. He took lodgings in London; and his nights and days were busy with conferences with lawyers, members of Parliament, and ministers, to ward off the movement against proprietorships, resist Lord Baltimore in his boundary dispute, and assist the Quakers. It was an expensive life, and he describes the guineas as melting away every day.

He could at one time easily have borne the expense; but now he was losing money by Pennsylvania. On the eve of his departure from the province he declared that after all the sales of lands he was still £20,000 out of pocket. His quit-rents were in arrear; and he still bore the burden of paying the deputy's salary as well as the salaries of the attorney-general and several other officials. A man who attempts to pay the government expense of a small empire and at the same time lead the life of a courtier and travelling preacher must needs be very rich. In addition to all this, his son William by his first wife had taken up extravagant habits while his father was in the province, and was another source of loss.

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But no matter what the expense or risk, Penn could not now check himself in his career, or abandon the great purposes of his life. He must go on and protect his province and his sect, and continue to be the same man of influence and prominence. In the midst of all his business at court, we find him again moving about over England to preach at Quaker meetings, writing tracts and pamphlets like "More Fruits of Solitude," and a preface to a book in defence of Quaker principles; and also unfortunately at the same time continually borrowing money.

The administration of Governor Hamilton was a short one of only two years; and until a new deputy was appointed, the office devolved on Edward Shippen, President of the Council. Quarry was now ready to spring a trap he had been preparing. He had obtained an order from Queen Anne to enforce in Pennsylvania two English statutes, which, while they allowed Quakers to affirm, required that those who were willing to take an oath should be permitted to do so. He appeared with this order before the Council. Two of the members were willing to take an oath, and said they would comply with the order. But this did not suit Quarry. The Council, he said, was a unit, and he must administer the oath to all or none; and when they refused to comply with this ridiculous request, he considered that he had something to report to England.

The collector of customs was, however, called in, and administered the oaths in a reasonable way. But Quarry could still work mischief with his royal order. The Quaker judges were as tender about administering an oath to those who wickedly wanted to take it as they

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were about taking one themselves. Quarry hoped to compel the resignation of all of them, and have Churchmen appointed in their places; and although he did not succeed in this, he compelled the resignation of some, suspended the business of the courts, and stirred up a great scandal and talk.

The Council soon raised an interesting constitutional dispute with the Assembly men, who believed that under the Constitution of 1701 they had a right to adjourn whenever they pleased. The Council contended that they had a right to adjourn from day to day, or for short periods within the session; but the session could be closed and the Assembly adjourned finally until the next session only by the governor and Council. The Assembly, however, laughed at them, and fixed their adjournment to suit themselves,—a fresh step in the establishment of this important popular right which was soon settled beyond question. The Council, after the manner so often adopted at that time, attempted to prevent this boldness becoming a precedent by proroguing the Assembly to the day to which it had adjourned.

The new deputy, John Evans, a young Welshman twenty-six years old, began his administration in 1704. His first act was to refuse his assent to a bill confirming the right of the Assembly to adjourn at pleasure, and this was the end of all further legislation during the session; for the Assembly would pass no bills until their favorite measure was approved.

Penn seems to have approved of Evans' course. He had been for some years negotiating for the sale of his political power to the crown, in the hope that he would in this way be relieved from the expense of maintaining

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the government for the future, and that the sum received would relieve him from his present embarrassment. With that load removed and remaining proprietor of the land, the sales and quit-rents would in a few years restore his fortune. He thought that the stronger Evans made the government against the people, and the fewer privileges he allowed them, the more the crown would be inclined to buy it, and the higher the price they would give. The crown would not be likely to want to step into the shoes of a weak governor among a people who were accustomed to their liberties. In a letter to Roger Mompesson, referring to Evans' conduct, he says, "What a bargain should I have made for my government with the crown after such a bill had taken from me the power I should dispose of."¹

He gained, however, little or nothing by this shrewdness, for the people were indignant at Evans, and the Assembly resolved to send a memorial of their grievances to the proprietor. There was not time before the end of the session to prepare the memorial at length; but nine resolutions were passed which were referred to a committee which prepared the address; and the address, after being approved by a second committee, was sent to England without ever having been submitted to the Assembly.

It was a long, detailed attack upon the proprietor, full of invective, bitterness, and insinuation, and evidently prepared or inspired by David Lloyd. Penn was accused of having instructed his deputy to resist the right of adjournment, of allowing his colonists' consciences to be oppressed by oaths under royal orders,

¹ Janney's Life of Penn, 478.

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of suffering their laws to remain unconfirmed by the crown, and of extortion and corruption in the sale of land. His personal government, it was said, while in the province, had been one of resentment and recrimination, and he had taken sides with the enemies of the province rather than with its friends. The smallest point was seized upon, and by adroit language magnified against him. He was reminded of his neglect to pay Thomas Lloyd's salary while deputy-governor; and he was impudently asked if the province was expected to discharge it. And finally he was informed that something should be done to suppress vice, which had greatly increased since the arrival of his son.

This last allusion to Penn's greatest trouble doubtless gave David Lloyd infinite pleasure. Penn's son William, though married, and with a family of children, was leading a life of dissipation and extravagance which was rapidly helping to ruin his father. He was sent out to Pennsylvania with Evans, who, it was hoped, would help to restrain him; and letters were written to James Logan and the influential Quakers to do all they could to change the young man's course of life. He was made a member of Council, the house at Pennsbury was prepared for him, and attempts made to occupy his mind with hunting and visits to the Indians. He promised well at first, and Logan felt much encouraged. But soon his real disposition got the better of him. He consorted much with the young governor, whose youth and propensities were not as restraining as had been expected; and very soon the pair got into a drunken row at night in which, after the old English roistering fashion, they attempted to beat the watch.

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The memorial of grievances prepared by Lloyd and the rest of the committee, which was never submitted to the Assembly and never seen by them, was signed by Lloyd as Speaker, long after the Assembly had adjourned, when he was no longer its Speaker. To overcome this irregularity, he had interlined in the minutes, as Logan charges, an order authorizing this signing. At the next meeting of the Assembly the memorial was read, and being disapproved, Lloyd, who was again Speaker, was ordered to recall it, which he did, but accompanied the recall with a private letter to the bearer, instructing him not to execute the recall.

The memorial was not at all popular among the people of the province; and there was a strong reaction in favor of Penn, which for a time quite unseated Lloyd and the anti-proprietary party. They were obliged to smooth over matters with respectful and affectionate expressions for the founder, and to vote £1,200 for the support of government, besides the proceeds of a tax on wines and spirits.

Evans, in spite of all his folly, was now in a triumphant position; and he sought to revenge himself on the Assembly of 1705 by prosecuting Biles, one of its members, who had said of him, "He is but a boy; he is not fit to govern; we will kick him out." He brought suit against Biles in the courts, and attempted to have the process served on him while the Assembly was in session. He demanded that the Assembly should expel him, and raised a small tempest with them, at the end of which he ordered them to adjourn; and instead of standing on their own right to adjourn, for which they had fought for over twenty years, the Assembly broke up

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and scattered, and a quorum could not be kept together. This was the result of David Lloyd's leadership and excess. The violence of his attack upon the proprietor had produced such an overwhelming tide of popular feeling in the proprietor's favor that for the time the courage of the Assembly was destroyed and the people's liberties eclipsed.

The next Assembly of 1706 was as well behaved and as moderate as possible. Only eleven members of the former house were returned; and of these, seven were favorable to the governor. They passed excellent laws, forbidding the sale of Indian slaves, and placing a duty on the importation of black ones. They were loyal to the proprietor as well as to his young deputy. Everything was in Evans' favor; and if he had only used a little discretion, he might have continued for a long time in that state.

He was trying to organize a militia, and believed it very necessary to do something of this sort, or at least have the appearance of doing it, in order to withstand those in England who were trying to turn the proprietorships into royal provinces. The war with France and Spain had been severely felt in the New England provinces; and it was feared that privateers or men-of-war might at any time enter the Delaware and land a force. The youthful and bumptious Evans had no faith in the sincerity of the Quaker principles against war. He believed they would fight like other people the moment they thought their property or their lives in danger, and he set about giving them that thought. He arranged his plans for the day of the annual fair in Philadelphia, and had a messenger arrive in great haste

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and terror, with the news that the French had entered the river in force, and were moving on the city. Buckling on his sword and mounting his horse, the governor rode up and down among the people, entreating them to arm and assemble for the public defence.

Logan is charged with having taken part in these extraordinary proceedings, and is said to have exhibited pretended signals from the river and displayed the French colors from the mast of a sloop. But in his letters to Penn he speaks of himself as having seen through the device from the beginning, and as having opposed it. To have taken part in it was certainly not like all the rest we know of his character, and there is every reason to suppose that what he has said of his opposition to it was true.

Evans succeeded in creating a panic among some of the people. The large vessels were sailed up the river to Burlington; the small boats hidden in the creeks; silver and valuables thrown into wells; and several pregnant women untimely delivered. But the greater part of the Quakers were undismayed; most of them attended their religious meeting, and only four attended with their weapons at the meeting.

The farce was soon over, and what it could have accomplished in any event is difficult to see. But Evans evidently thought that he could, by this sudden excitement, break the spell of Quaker doctrine and recruit the whole sect into militiamen. But instead of breaking the spell of Quaker doctrine, he broke the spell of his own success as a governor. The people were again disgusted with him; and the Assembly that met in September, 1706, denied his power to erect

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courts of law without their consent. The election held the next month returned an Assembly entirely against him, and Lloyd was again in power.

The great question of debate was now the bill for establishing a judiciary. The Assembly had prepared one providing for a supreme court, county courts, and quarter sessions for criminal cases. Evans resisted every part of it, and insisted on the right of the proprietor to create such courts as he pleased. He also insisted that the proceeds of granting tavern licenses and all fines and forfeitures should go to the proprietary instead of being appropriated, as the Assembly wished, to the paying of judges' salaries and other government expenses.

The fines and the payments for licenses were likely to increase with years; and the Assembly feared that if they all went to the proprietor, he might become too rich and independent, and their liberty be endangered. They were fully impressed with the importance of that fundamental principle of colonial constitutional law, that the governor, whether royal or proprietary, must be kept poor; that his salary or income must never become a fixed sum, but must be dependent on the favor and grants of the people. On this question and on the right of the proprietor to create courts of law, they contended with all the oldtime courage and keenness they had shown before Lloyd's memorial put them at the mercy of the governor.

A conference between the governor and the Assembly was proposed and held; and it might have turned out favorably if Evans had not been the champion on one side, and Lloyd on the other. They were soon in a

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personal altercation, demanding apologies from one another; and as the Assembly supported Lloyd and neither side would yield, all hope of compromise failed, and Evans established a judiciary by proclamation in accordance with the powers he claimed.

The Assembly now determined to strike at Logan, the secretary, who was supposed to have much influence over Evans and to be the author of much of his policy. He was accordingly formally impeached by the Assembly, and thirteen articles or charges exhibited against him. This brought on another long controversy, in which the popularity of Evans was by no means increased. Logan was not tried on the articles of impeachment; and the Assembly, finding they could do nothing either with the secretary or the governor, decided to appeal to Penn himself by means of a remonstrance to be more carefully worded than the memorial which Lloyd had prepared.

The document when completed was not altogether a direct attack on Penn, and contained nothing offensive. He was reminded, however, in the first sentence of it that if the evil practices of his deputy and secretary were not remedied, the Assembly must appeal to the Queen. He had neglected, they said, to have his people relieved from administering oaths, which had kept many Quakers from government employment, and without Quakers in the government it could not be restored to its original purity. He had not settled the Maryland boundary, which caused great difficulty with land titles near the line; and although they had given him £2,000 in consideration of his obtaining the royal sanction for their laws, the best of them had been

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repealed. This was all the direct complaint of Penn they had to make ; and the rest of the remonstrance was taken up with the mal-administration of Evans, who in addition to his political offences was charged with gross immoralities with the Indians.

Penn's troubles were now increasing fast, with debts piling up upon him; and he was also beginning to feel the first symptoms of the gout. The French privateers and the disgraceful administration of Evans checked the growth of the province and made it more and more of a burden to its proprietor. The produce of the colony could not be sold. Vessels sent to sea were next heard of as prizes in the admiralty courts of France, and some of the richest merchants lost a large part of their estates. Wheat, flour, and salted provisions, which had in the early days of the province brought enormous prices, were now a drug upon the market. Not only were the sales of land and collections of quit-rents retarded, but the people and their Assembly, exasperated by the deputy Penn had appointed, refused to vote him supplies, and left the expense of government to be paid by the proprietor. In a letter written to Logan in 1704, Penn had said:

“O Pennsylvania, what hast thou cost me? Above £30,000 more than I ever got by it, two hazardous and most fatiguing voyages, my straits and slavery here, and my child’s soul almost.”

By the reference to his child he meant that during his absence in the province his son William had taken up the extravagant habits and the keeping of “top company,” as he called it, which were now proving to be his ruin. Penn always thought that if he had stayed

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in England with his son, instead of going to Pennsylvania, the son would not have taken up such evil courses; and he rather unfairly blamed the result on the province.

But besides this son, his daughter Letitia had married a young merchant, William Aubrey, and the economy of this son-in-law was worse than the extravagance of the son. Aubrey was very much of a man of business,—“a scraping man,” Penn called him; and he insisted on the prompt payment of his wife’s portion in a way that materially assisted to bring the founder of Pennsylvania to his sad end.

In the mean time, Penn had for several years been under another financial difficulty, revealed only to a few, but now, at the close of Evans’ administration, brought to light. He had had for some time a steward, or manager, Philip Ford, who took charge of his estates in England and Ireland. Ford was supposed to be a most exemplary Quaker; and like all others whom he employed, Penn trusted him implicitly and grew fond of him. He took particular pains that Ford should have ten thousand acres in Pennsylvania, a city lot in Philadelphia, and one hundred and fifty acres in the suburbs as a present, and seemed to think that he was scarcely giving him enough. Ford seems to have thought so too, for he took additional means to enrich himself. He rendered accounts from time to time which Penn received and set aside without examination and without even opening them. Finally, when an investigation was made, it appeared that although Ford had received £17,000 of Penn’s money and expended only £16,000, yet Penn owed him £10,500. He accomplished this result by charging

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compound interest at eight per cent every six months on all advances, to which he added large commissions charged again and again on the same sum, and an enormous salary. He allowed Penn no interest on receipts, and sometimes failed to set down money received.

When the debt against Penn was already large, Ford pressed for payment. Penn still neglected to make an investigation, and as security for the debt foolishly gave Ford a deed in fee simple of the colony. Some time afterward he committed another piece of folly, and accepted from Ford a lease of the province. The lease was of course strong evidence to show that the deed was intended to be an absolute conveyance; and yet there is no doubt that the transaction between the two men was regarded by both of them as only a mortgage.

During Ford's lifetime the whole affair was kept secret; it was never known that the great proprietor had been juggled out of his colony by a book-keeper. But when Ford died, his widow and son made everything public, declared that the deed passed an absolute title, and professed to be the owners of Pennsylvania. They treated Penn as their tenant, and brought suit against him for £3,000 rent in arrear, and, having obtained a judgment for that amount, had Penn arrested and imprisoned for debt. They even went so far as to attempt to get a proclamation from the crown declaring them to be the proprietors of Pennsylvania, and commanding the colonists to obey them.

For nine months Penn was confined in the Old Bailey, where he was visited by his friends and displayed all that serene courage and endurance which had upheld

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him in so many difficulties. The Fords had gone a little too far in having him imprisoned, for such severe treatment of a great man brought him unusual sympathy and assistance.

Isaac Norris, one of the prominent men of the colony, was in England, and did everything in his power for the proprietor, and assisted to raise money and compromise with the Fords. The sum of £7,600 was finally agreed upon as a settlement; but difficulties arose about the complaints that had reached England from the colony. The old memorial sent by David Lloyd and the later remonstrance of the Assembly against Evans were in the hands of three sturdy Quakers,—George Whitehead, William Meade, and Thomas Lowther, agents of the people of the colony, and not altogether in accord with Penn. They made good use of Penn's position to force him to recall Evans, and their visits to him in the Old Bailey were effectual. The money was raised, a mortgage given on the province to secure it, Evans was dismissed, and Penn was a free man.

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CHAPTER III

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOOKIN AND THE DEATH OF PENN

THE deputy appointed to take Evans' place was Col. Charles Gookin, who began his administration in 1709. Penn, as usual, was infatuated with him, and described him to his friends in the province as a man of good family, the grandson of Sir Vincent Gookin, an early planter in Ireland in the days of King James and King Charles, highly recommended by prominent men, a soldier weary of war, anxious to retire to peaceful Pennsylvania and leave there his fortune and his bones.

The Assembly was in session when Gookin arrived, the same angry, anti-proprietary Assembly that had been attacking Evans; and from force of habit its first act was to address Gookin on the subject of his predecessor, asking that he might still be prosecuted and punished, and intimating that he had been influenced by certain evil counsel, which was a hit at Logan. The governor quieted them by saying that he had no authority to punish Evans, but that he was ready to redress any other grievances they had, and that it would be well to lay aside all the old animosities and jealousies and apply themselves to the business of the hour.

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But the Assembly under the leadership of Lloyd were in a captious mood. They were soon making petty complaints of the governor. When he wanted one hundred and fifty men and money for the expedition against Canada, they replied that they could not in conscience raise money to hire men to kill one another, but in gratitude to the Queen for many favors they would present her with £500. This the governor refused; and the Assembly would make no change except that £300 of the grant should be for Indian expenses, and the remaining £200 for the governor's own use, provided he should concur in their bills.

In refusing to accept their amended grant, the governor brought on another quarrel by accidentally letting it be known that his instructions prohibited him from passing any law without the consent of his Council. This the Assembly thought a violation of the Constitution. The Council, which had been given no legislative power nor even existence by the Constitution of 1701, was by this means, they said, to be given a secret control of legislation; and the Assembly would never know who was the real cause of their grievances, the governor or some member of his Council. The object of the instructions was, they thought, to give Logan, already predominant in the Council, a greater power than ever, and enable him to control not only the governor, but the Assembly; and the Assembly thereupon proceeded to state their opinion of Logan, who had been the cause, they said, of all the evil in the last government.

Soon after this the Assembly adjourned; and the election held in October of that year, 1709, returned a

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body of the same complexion, with the anti-proprietary party still in power and Lloyd for its Speaker. They immediately began a quarrel with Logan, in which he defended himself with his usual ability, and so exasperated them with taunts on their past conduct and treatment of Penn that they ordered his arrest, and he was taken on the warrant of the Speaker.

The governor released him on the ground that the Assembly could not arrest any one outside of its own membership, and least of all a member of the Council. Logan embarked for England, and laid before Penn the whole subject of his controversy with the Assembly, including the former articles of impeachment; and after an investigation he was acquitted of all blame.

But still greater triumphs awaited him and Penn in the province. The Assembly had again gone too far. The people were convinced that Evans and his abuses were entirely disposed of, and they began to have confidence in Gookin. At the next election in October, 1710, they returned an Assembly every member of which was of the proprietary party. Lloyd was so discomfited that he went to live in Chester, and for the next two years he and his friends were seldom heard of.

This change in the feeling of the people as soon as they saw the prospect of a little good government shows that Penn was in reality very popular among them, and that if he had governed in person or appointed fairly discreet deputies there would have been no anti-proprietary party and few difficulties.

In June, 1710, while Logan was in England, and probably at his suggestion, Penn wrote a long letter to

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the people of the province, which, if it had arrived before the election, would have made the result more certain. Coming afterward as it did, it strengthened the hands of his friends and confirmed the people in their regard for him. It was a pathetic letter, with many touches of feeling : —

“The many combats I have engaged in, the great pains and incredible expence to your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate, of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel its effects, with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow that, if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure, that, while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief trouble and poverty.”

He goes on to speak of what they had called their grievances, dealing with them in the same gentle, kindly spirit he had always shown when in direct communication with his people, and then goes on to state some of his own grievances : —

“The attacks on my reputation ; the many indignities put upon me in papers sent over hither into the hands of those who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them ; the secret insinuations against my justice, besides the attempt made upon my estate ; resolves passed in the Assemblies for turning my quit-rents, never sold by me, to the support of government ; my lands entered upon without any regular method ; my manors invaded (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them) and both these by persons prin-

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pally concerned in these attempts against me here ; a right to my overplus land unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts in which they are found ; my private estate continually exhausting for the support of that government, both here and there, and no provision made for it by that country ; to all which I cannot but add the violence that has been particularly shown to my Secretary."

They were not an oppressed people, he said. The trifles of which they complained showed that they were strangers to real oppression. They complained that officers' fees were not settled by Act of Assembly. By all means, let them settle those fees and make them such as to encourage fit persons to undertake the offices. They had complained of the tavern licenses; but that matter was now settled. They should remember that the eyes of all Europe were upon them; that many nations looked to them as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves in vain the same blessings.

"What are the distresses, grievances and oppressions, that the papers, sent from thence, so often say you languish under, while others have cause to believe you have hitherto lived or might live, the happiest of any in the Queen's dominions."

This last criticism of Penn's is one which might be applied all through the colonial history of Pennsylvania. As we read the political history of the province, the doings of its Assembly, and the squabbles with the various governors, we might suppose it one of the most distracted and troubled commonwealths on earth, always in difficulties and always struggling for something it could not get. So strong is this impression that some writers have gone so far as to say that the common

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belief in the prosperity and ease of life in the province was a mere delusion. But such people are much misled. The men who carried on these contests went home in the evening to very cheerful firesides. Their wealth rapidly increased in spite of the supposed oppression of the proprietors; and there were few, if any, other colonies where the people enjoyed more amusements and pleasures. The severity of the language with which they contended with the governors did not always express a personal animosity; and Franklin in one of his best stories tells us how he used to abuse a certain deputy-governor all day in the Assembly, and then dine with him in friendly intercourse in the evening. They were hearty Saxon spirits, jealous of the slightest infraction of their liberties, but not disposed to grow frantic or hysterical, or lose any of their sleep or pleasure.

Their ways were plain and simple. When the hour for the Assembly meeting came, a bell was rung, probably a very necessary ceremony to bring them together from the taverns and houses where they were gossiping. The same bell was tolled when they adjourned. As the shadows lengthened and the sun sank below the houses of the little town, a member would move that candles be brought in; and the minutes invariably record that "candles were brought in accordingly."

The method of their proceedings is spread out before us in their minutes,—most interesting volumes, which show these Quaker legislators to have been very business-like and well skilled in the parliamentary arts. Their constant intercourse with the deputy-governor was conducted by message and reply; and when there

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was no message of the governor to furnish a basis for a reply, they addressed him by remonstrance or memorial. These messages and replies, or remonstrances, appear in the minutes every few pages, and are all of striking ability. The messages of the governors are very dignified and well expressed in rich, idiomatic old English; and one is very apt to be persuaded that the governor is right until he reads the sarcastic reply of the Assembly. The members of the Assembly, and especially David Lloyd, became very skilful in drawing up replies which would be entirely respectful, and yet contain a sting.

Lloyd was a learned man in his way and a very astute lawyer; and the keen practical sense on all questions of English constitutional history and law which the Assembly showed was doubtless largely due to him. He went to extremes at times; but it must be said in his excuse that he was on those occasions often leading the people against the acts of very unsuitable deputies who should not have been appointed. On ordinary occasions, and when his spite against Penn was not aroused, he was a very efficient and useful Assembly man, and his temper seems to have improved with age. He and Joseph Wilcox seem to have drawn the greater part of the Assembly's replies. Franklin afterward performed the same service, and was always very proud of his work. Indeed, the man who could frame these replies so that they would be effective, not merely with the governor, but with the people, who learned of their contents at the coffee-house, became very naturally an important person in the colony.

The Assembly was a small body, composed of only about twenty-five or thirty members, and could manage

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its business very easily, meet at the governor's house, if in conference with him, or at the treasurer's office or the loan office, if investigating accounts. They were true tribunes of the people, and in their course of ninety odd years built up a goodly fabric of civil liberty.

In reading their history, however, in these years, we must remember that it is not the history of the whole people of the province, but merely the political doings of the sect that was in power. While the Quakers were controlling the Assembly, fighting the deputies, and developing constitutional liberty, thousands and thousands of people, consisting of Germans and Scotch-Irish, were arriving in the province and scattering themselves among the woods and mountains without taking any part in the government. These people in the course of years far outnumbered the Quakers; and yet, though composing the majority of inhabitants, they lived to themselves, and had language, literature, customs, and a history of their own, separate from the political history that was made by the Quakers. When the French and Indian wars reached the Pennsylvania frontier, the Scotch-Irish and the Germans began to take a more active part in affairs, but until that time they left everything to the Quakers.

Penn's letter having been read in the Quaker meetings and the prospects being favorable for a good administration from Gookin, the ruling class or sect were now in a very easy humor. Bills were rapidly passed by the new Assembly. With the assistance of the governor, and in spite of the disapproval of his bill by the crown, they succeeded in establishing some sort of judiciary system. Gookin yielded them the right to

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adjourn at pleasure; and when the usual application came for money to assist in the war against Canada, they were very compliant, and voted the sum of £2,000. They regulated the fees of officers, established a regular revenue, and, by these and other wholesome laws, gave the province a more settled and substantial government. In this way five peaceful years, 1711 to 1716, passed away.

Those years were a great relief to Penn; and it was fitting that his last days should see some respite from the troubles the province had caused him. The settlement of the Ford claim helped him, for it stopped a most exhausting drain on his resources; and under a new manager his estates in England and Ireland began to bring in some returns. He was now in the decline of life, being nearly seventy years old. He had ceased from his active work at court; for nearly everything that could be accomplished for his sect had been done, and there was but little more to do even for the cause of the proprietary colonies. He was becoming gouty, and the cessation from active life probably increased the disease.

It was about this time or a little earlier that he had become very stout; and several of the pictures of him were doubtless produced by persons who knew him in this stage of his life, and in some of them he looks like a fat, prosperous butcher. But we may console ourselves with the thought that none of these pictures were taken from life, but only from recollection or description. The only authentic portrait we have of him is the one taken when he was a young soldier of twenty-one, with a beautiful, fresh, expressive face, and the long hair and

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armor of a Cavalier. The bronze statue on the City Hall in Philadelphia, in which he appears tall, well proportioned, and strong, is probably as it is intended to be, a very faithful representation of him as he was in his prime, when he first took possession of Pennsylvania.

As he felt himself growing old, his great object was still to sell the government of the province, pay his debts, and restore his family to prosperity. He grasped eagerly at the report of a silver mine in the Allegheny Mountains. He was solicitous, he said, "to pry into this affair whence help may arrive to deliver me." But he was soon convinced that there was more chance for help in a sale to the crown than in anything the Alleghenies contained. His great difficulty was in the conditions on which the sale must be made. He wanted money; but he also had a great reputation to maintain. He could not sell his right in a way that would jeopardize the principles on which the colony was founded and its civil and religious liberty; and it must also remain a secure asylum for the Quakers. All this must be secured before he received a shilling; and so particular was he on this point in negotiating with the officers of the crown that the sale was delayed, and delayed until it could not be accomplished.

He, however, had brought the matter to a state that was almost satisfactory when, on the 4th of October, 1712, while writing to Logan, he was stricken with paralysis. He recovered in a few months so far as to go on with the negotiations and come to an agreement, with a deed ready to be signed, and £1,000 was paid him on account of the purchase-money, which was to be £18,150. But again he was stricken with paralysis, which this time

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reached his mind; and the deed would not have been valid if he had signed it. The sale was never completed; and the great proprietor lingered for six years with a clouded intellect, gradually growing weaker and weaker.

He lived at that time at Ruscombe near Twyford in a large house, too large for his means, where he was tenderly nursed by his faithful wife, and seemed to find pleasure in wandering from room to room. At times he was taken to meeting, where he was sometimes able to speak a few sentences. He was very cheerful, and glad to see his friends, who described him as very defective in memory, but with occasional flashes of intelligence and clear statement which showed that his strong mind was not yet entirely subdued.

Fortunately, during these six years when he was gradually sinking to his grave, the province was quiet, and his wife had no difficulty in managing it. In 1713, the year after he was stricken with paralysis, peace was declared; and the trade of the Delaware River immediately began to revive. This was the event for which he had been waiting many years. He had even hesitated in selling the government, expecting that he might hear of the cessation of hostilities at any time. He was confident that, as soon as peace came, his returns from sales of land and quit-rents would enormously increase, and soon place him beyond any necessity of selling. But now the good time had come when his mind could scarcely appreciate it, and the results had hardly time to gather much headway before he had ceased to live.

Everything, however, was easier. The Assembly bore part of the expense of government, which had hitherto

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depended entirely on Penn; and they began by giving Gookin £150. The proprietor had agreed to give him £200 a year, and the Assembly usually gave him about £500 annually; but the appropriations on which the Assembly's grant depended were very irregularly paid, and the governor felt far from secure in his income. He was a bachelor, and had been chosen, it is said, for that reason, because it was thought he would be a cheap governor. But he was none the less persistent in his demands on the Assembly. He never lost an opportunity to worry money out of them; and continual disappointment in these endeavors is said to have brought on his final quarrel with them.

He is supposed to have become a little deranged; for he quarrelled in a most extraordinary way with the Assembly of 1714, because they had not a quorum on the first day of their meeting, and refused to recognize them, and he soon had another opportunity to make a mistake. The royal orders which Quarry had obtained, compelling oaths to be administered to those who were willing to take them, were still giving trouble. They did not accomplish their object of keeping the Quakers as a body out of office; but they undoubtedly prevented certain strict members of the sect from accepting office, and in any event were to be gotten rid of, if possible.

The colonists had a very convenient way of dealing with matters of this sort. Their laws had to be sent to England for approval within five years, and were valid unless disapproved by the crown within six months after the expiration of that time. But meanwhile the people would live under the law for five years, and when it was disapproved pass it again and live under it for another

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period. The history of quite a number of their laws shows them to have been re-enacted at regular intervals of five years. They took this course with the question of oaths. In 1704, soon after Quarry obtained the orders, they passed a bill substituting affirmations for oaths; but Evans, who was deputy at that time, refused to sign it. In 1710 they passed a similar bill, which was signed by Gookin and became a law, but was afterward disapproved by the crown, and now in 1715 they passed the same bill again, which Gookin also signed.

But Queen Anne had died in 1714, and under George I., who was now on the throne, an Act of Parliament was passed, extending to the colonies for five years an Act of William III., intended to prevent Quakers from giving evidence in criminal cases, sitting on juries, or holding any office under government. This was exactly what the Church of England party in the province had always insisted should be the law, and they were accordingly much gratified. Gookin made the great mistake of his life by taking sides with them, and declaring that the new Act of Parliament repealed the law of the province allowing affirmations, which he had just signed. He could not be moved from this position by the entreaties of the Council, or by the Assembly.

The address sent him by the Assembly argued the question most ably, and seems to have been prepared by Lloyd. It was impossible, he urged, that an act preventing Quakers from being witnesses in criminal cases could apply to Pennsylvania. It would defeat the administration of justice. So many of the people were Quakers that there might be many instances in which the only witnesses to the most atrocious crimes

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would be of that faith, and one instance had already occurred in which a murderer had escaped under this Act of Parliament. The Act, if valid in the province, would also render void the whole government of the province and all its acts; for if no Quaker could hold office, then everything done by the proprietor or through his authority was annulled. The Act allowing affirmations recently passed was, by the royal charter, a law unless directly vetoed by the king within five years; and the Act of Parliament could not by mere implication repeal this provincial Act. The colonists had a right by their charter to live under their own law until the king expressly disallowed it.

Not satisfied with arousing the enmity of the whole Quaker community on the subject of oaths, Gookin attacked the characters of Hill, the Speaker of the Assembly, and of Logan, accusing them of favoring the pretender to the English throne. There was not the slightest evidence for these extraordinary accusations; and such a deputy, no matter what his merits might have been in the past, could no longer be endured. The whole Council joined in an address to Penn, asking for his recall. This was in 1716, when the proprietor was far too weak in his mind to attend to such matters. But Mrs. Penn received the address and, by great good luck or good judgment, appointed Sir William Keith. The office did not have to go begging, for in a letter to Logan she mentions one applicant who offered to pay £200 for the position. But she declined all such candidates and took the man who was most highly recommended by her friends.

Penn had now grown very weak and could no longer

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walk without assistance. But his powerful constitution yielded slowly, and the decline was gradual and steady, until, on the 30th of July, 1718, he died in the seventy-fourth year of his age. The Indians, when they heard of the death of Onas, as they called him,—the man of treaties unbroken and friendships inviolate,—sent his widow a present which they said was “material for a garment of skins suitable for travelling through a thorny wilderness;” and Mrs. Penn replied that she wished to put it on, “having the woods and wilderness to travel through, indeed.”

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CHAPTER IV

MRS. PENN BECOMES PROPRIETARY

PENN had been twice married. By his first wife, Gulielma Maria Springett, he had two children, — a son William, who had caused him so much trouble by his dissipation, and a daughter, who was now Letitia Aubrey. By his will he left to this son William all his estates in England and Ireland, inherited from his father and his first wife, and to Letitia Aubrey, in addition to the marriage portion already given her, ten thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania. The English and Irish estates left to William were worth £1,500 a year, and in direct returns were more valuable at this time than Pennsylvania.

He disposed of Pennsylvania by leaving it to his second wife, who survived him, and her father, Thomas Callowhill, and others, in trust to pay his debts and give legacies of ten thousand acres each to his daughter Letitia and to the children of his son William, and after that to convey the remainder, in such portions as his wife should think best, to his children by her, — John, Thomas, Margaret, Richard, and Dennis, — who were at the time of his death all under age.

The government of Pennsylvania and Delaware, which was always distinct from the ownership of the land he gave by his will to the Earl of Oxford, Earl

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Mortimer, and Earl Pawlet, in trust to sell to the crown. These noblemen, however, were in doubt as to their power to act in this trust, because it was a question whether the trust was valid against William, the heir-at-law, and there was also a question whether the trust to sell was necessary when there was already in existence an agreement to sell to the crown.

A chancery suit was instituted to test these questions, and meanwhile William claimed the government as heir-at-law. But the trustees never accomplished a sale; and the death of William in about two years, and of his son Springett some years after, left Pennsylvania to the children of the second wife.

While the chancery suit was in progress, and William and his son Springett were alive, there was much uncertainty as to the person who, of right, controlled the government. William several times undertook to assume it, and issued orders and instructions. But no one paid much attention to him, partly because of his well-known character, and principally because there was a conviction in most minds that the trustees who were to sell the government were the true legal owners of it. The trustees, however, declined to take any part, either in selling or governing; and after the death of William, his son, Springett Penn, the heir-at-law, always seems to have acted in full accord with his step-mother. By a compromise of all interests, therefore, Mrs. Penn became in effect the owner of both the land and the government as executrix and guardian of the children, probably the only instance in history of a woman occupying the feudal office of Lord Proprietor of such a great province.

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Her rule was very much facilitated by Keith, who began his administration in the spring of 1717. He was a Scotchman of distinguished family, already familiar with the affairs of the province as well as with the general condition of things in America, having been surveyor of customs for the southern colonies, and having often visited Philadelphia, where he knew Logan, Norris, and other prominent people. He had heard many a discussion of Pennsylvania politics, and knew the history and the weaknesses of past administrations.

From this knowledge he appears to have made up his mind that he could rule the colony, and he applied for the position of deputy. He had been in England during the time Penn could no longer be at court, and had been of much service in getting the province's laws approved by the Privy Council. He was willing, if appointed, to assume the expense of the fees necessary to obtain his confirmation by the crown. The Provincial Council in Pennsylvania, as well as Logan and all the friends of the Penn family, recommended him. In short, every circumstance marked him out as the man above all others suitable for the post of deputy-governor.

One of his first acts on his arrival was to quiet the Territories, where the people had become inclined toward a royal governor, instead of the Pennsylvania deputy. He was soon after very fortunate in his speech to the Assembly of Pennsylvania. He had postponed his meeting with them, he said, until they were through with the labors of harvest; and he continued his remarks in the same conciliatory tone, promis-

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ing to serve them in every way by his most earnest endeavors. He framed for them an address to the crown on the vexed subject of affirmations as against oaths, and in a few years relieved them from that troublesome question, so that the Quaker judges were no longer compelled either to take or to administer an oath.

They voted him a supply of £550, and were ever after very liberal to him in the matter of salary, which he spent in luxurious living at his country-seat at Horsham, and maintained a state equalled by no other deputy-governor before his time, and excelled only by Penn, the proprietor. In fact, the Assembly now put the maintenance and expense of the government on a regular and systematic footing, which, if it had been done a few years earlier, would have been a great relief to Penn. So popular did Keith become, that the Quaker Assembly gave him express authority to establish the things they disliked most of all, — a court of chancery and a militia.

He had discovered the secret of ruling the colony, which was simply to assent to all the reasonable demands of the people. An instance which occurred in his Court of Chancery shows his discretion. A Quaker lawyer, John Kinsey, addressed the court with his hat on, and Keith, as chancellor, ordered him to take it off. This created a great scandal among the people; and a committee from the Quarterly meeting was appointed to wait on the governor and demand the privilege of appearing in court according to the dictates of conscience. A governor like Evans would have turned such an occasion into a mighty conflict,

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which would have aroused both the people and the Assembly against him, and prevented all beneficial legislation for many years. But Keith readily assented to their request, and entered an order allowing them to address his court without uncovering.

Keith had, however, some decided faults of character. Though able and broad-minded in his way, he was insanely ambitious, and courted popularity by every means, — fair and foul. He had fallen into the habit such men often acquire of giving profuse promises on every occasion. He found it a cheap way of tiding over temporary difficulties; and though loud complaints were made at his numerous failures to keep his word, he still seemed, for the time, to gain more than he lost by this method, and also seemed to flourish, for the time being, by getting into debt. Franklin, who came to Philadelphia as a boy of seventeen, during Keith's administration, was one of his victims, and was sent on a fruitless voyage to England by the governor's falsehoods.

Such men usually ruin themselves in the end, and Keith was no exception. He had scarcely been in office a year before he began to ignore his Council; and his intention was evidently to abolish that department of the government and make himself more popular with the Assembly, who believed that the Council was not authorized by the Constitution of 1701.

The colony was now rapidly increasing in wealth; and the quit-rents and sales of land soon enabled Mrs. Penn to pay off the mortgage on the province, and all the rest of her husband's debts. But although the ocean was now free from the enemy's cruisers, there

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was not a sufficient outlet for the colony's products, which, under the influence of the fertile soil, mild climate, and rapidly increasing population, became superabundant. With the sanction of Keith, acts were passed to create a home consumption. Brewers were confined under penalty to the use of grain and hops in the manufacture of beer, and forbidden to use molasses or sugar; distillers were also encouraged to use home products in their business; and home produce was made a legal tender for debts.

The great industry of the province was what Keith described as the manufacture of provisions. In previous years, especially before the French cruisers became so prevalent on the ocean, the colony had enjoyed a high reputation for flour, bread, and salted supplies of all kinds, which had usually been carried to the West Indies. It was hoped that if this trade was restored, it would consume some of the superabundant farm supplies; and rigid inspection laws were passed, which greatly improved the quality of the manufactured provisions, and again brought them into great demand. But even this was not a sufficient remedy for the superabundance; and the colonists soon had to meet another difficulty in their commercial life, which was the lack of currency for the ordinary purposes of exchange.

The province, like all the other colonies in America, was compelled to buy all her manufactured goods in England, and not allowed to establish manufactories of her own. It is true that Pennsylvania violated this rule many times, but not enough to prevent her imports far exceeding her exports. She was therefore in the position of having more produce than she knew what

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to do with, and was nevertheless buying and bringing into the country more than she sold and sent out. Money, as a consequence, was very scarce, for it was all drawn off to pay the unequal balance of trade. The remedies for turning the superabundant produce into money failed, and, likewise, attempts to lower the rate of interest, stay executions for debt, and raise the value of the coin. Keith suggested a paper currency, which proved successful, was issued during all the rest of the colonial period, and formed one of the regulation subjects of dispute between the Assembly and the governor.

The same remedy of a paper currency was tried in other colonies, but usually with very disastrous results, because it was overissued, lost the confidence of the people, and depreciated so as to cause great loss and suffering. The difficulty with a paper currency in a colony was that if very little of it was issued it failed to entirely supply the place of the money drawn off to England, and became in great demand, so that speculators, or "sharpers," as the colonists called them, would buy it up to hold and sell gradually at an enormous profit. This was a great injury to the people, and defeated the purpose for which the paper had been issued. On the other hand, if much of it were issued, its depreciation caused even greater injury.

The point to be attained was therefore to issue just so much as would about supply the place of the money taken to England, and no more and no less. To do this in a popular assembly, subject to the clamor of those who were extremely conservative and wanted no paper currency at all, and of those who believed in an

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unlimited issue of paper money, was a difficult task. That Pennsylvania, nevertheless, had a paper currency issued from time to time for a period of fifty years, that was always sound and of a steady value for all purposes of trade, is another proof of how well the province was ruled down to the time of the Revolution. When the classes that had ruled in colonial times were driven from power in the Revolution, and a mob of the ignorant and inexperienced were in possession of the commonwealth, the previous success with paper money deluded them, and they rushed to the conclusion that it could be safely issued in unlimited quantities, the more of it the better, and that, no matter how low its value sank, people could be compelled to accept it by penal laws.

There had been people in the province, usually debtors, with the same opinions previous to the Revolution, but they were held in check by the conservatism and good sense of the Quaker Assembly and the proprietary officials, who never allowed the issues to go beyond a safe basis. In the first issue under Keith, £50,000 in notes were issued in loans to individuals secured on silver plate or land.

This plan of issuing a currency or creating money based on the property of citizens is most plausible in theory, but extremely dangerous in practice as soon as attempted on a large scale. It was in the minds of many people at that time, and was an important part of the system of the famous John Law, whose banking scheme had a few years before ruined so many people in France. Law believed that money stimulated trade, that credit could be used as money, and that

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the way to have plenty of money and plenty of stimulation was through a generous issue of paper currency based on mortgages of land. His theories had come to grief in France in 1720; and doubtless the Pennsylvania Quakers had his lesson in their minds in 1722, when they issued their first paper money. They certainly acted upon the very reverse of Law's principle; for, instead of regarding money as the cause of trade, they regarded trade as the cause of money, and they confined their issues of paper money very closely to the one purpose of offsetting the drain of their currency to England, and they were careful to keep the issues far within the value of the security.

The minutes of the Assembly show how carefully the subject was debated. Petitions came in from the merchants and other classes in the community, displaying various views and suggesting various remedies. The petitioners who differed in opinion answered each other back and forth; and the whole experience of the English nation in coinage matters as well as the experience of the other colonies was reviewed. There was, in fact, a most thorough investigation; and the people, as well as the Assembly, became familiar with all the phases of the question. Nothing saved them from ruin but their extreme care and moderation, and the limitations with which their undertaking was surrounded.

The loans on plate were for only a year, and those on lands were for eight years. No one could borrow more than £100 except after the loan office had been open four months; and the sum allowed to be issued had not been all taken when one person could borrow £200. Every loan was to be repaid by yearly

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instalments; and as soon as an instalment was due more than two months, there could be a foreclosure and sale of the land. Money received on the loans was to be used to buy in the notes, and in this way the whole issue was to be gradually absorbed. But in the next year, as the plan proved successful, a provision was adopted for reissuing the notes, so that the benefit of providing the people with a currency should be continued.

Persons who refused to receive the paper money at the value of gold and silver were to be punished by a fine of from thirty shillings to fifty pounds. But punishments of this sort were unnecessary as long as the people believed that the paper could be redeemed in gold; and if they lost that faith, all the fines and punishments in the world would not restore the paper's value in their eyes, or compel them to accept it at par. This was afterward fully tested in the Revolution, when the new rulers in control of Pennsylvania attempted to regulate values by legislation and force.

So popular was Keith, so successful his measures, and so prosperous the province under his rule, that the Assembly gave him a vote of thanks and gratitude, a distinction awarded to no other colonial governor of Pennsylvania. His treatment of the Council, which was in effect to abolish it, was quietly endured under the spell of his success; and Mrs. Penn, though extremely doubtful of the wisdom of the paper money, did not ask for its repeal in the hope that it would be carefully managed, and no more issues of it permitted. The governor might have gone on for some time undisturbed if he had not lost his head and thought himself

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more powerful than Logan and the proprietors. Logan had, about the time of the first issue of paper money in the year 1722, entered a statement in the Minutes of the Council which Keith thought had not been approved by the other members; and, seizing upon this as a pretext, Keith took upon himself as governor to dismiss Logan from the Council as well as from his office of secretary of the province. Logan immediately sailed for England, and laid the whole matter before the proprietary family.

This was the end of Keith. Logan returned, and had the satisfaction of handing to him Mrs. Penn's rebuke. He must reinstate Logan at once, restore the Council to its former importance, and hereafter be guided by its advice. He might still have remained governor if he had yielded. But he not only resisted and argued against Mrs. Penn's rebuke, but laid the whole matter before the Assembly, and asked them to take his side. They supported him most heartily, and Mrs. Penn at once recalled him. The Assembly, hearing that their favorite was doomed, deserted him, gave him only £400, and, when he urged them for a vote of approval, prepared a half-hearted address, in which they said as little as possible. His successor, Patrick Gordon, arrived in the summer of 1726, closing nine years of as beneficial an administration as the colony had ever had, which, but for the folly of Keith himself, might just as well have lasted ten years longer.

Keith remained in the province for awhile, and was elected to the Assembly, in which he tried to create a party to overthrow the proprietary power. But in the spring of 1728 he was obliged to escape secretly to

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avoid his creditors. Soon after he published a pamphlet in England on the state of the colonies, and is said to have been the first person to suggest to the crown the taxation of the Americans. He was finally imprisoned for debt, and died in the Old Bailey.

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CHAPTER V

GORDON'S WISE ADMINISTRATION

GORDON was an old soldier who had served with distinction under Queen Anne; and, after the experience with Blackwell, this appointment of a warrior to rule a Quaker colony was not a very favorable sign of a quiet administration. Gordon, however, seems to have thought himself all the better qualified. He had been born in the same year as William Penn, 1644, and was now a discreet old man of eighty-two, calmed by years and vicissitudes, with a face which, in the portraits we have of him, shows great benevolence, not unlike the typical Quaker. In his first address to the Assembly, he assured them that the simplicity and frankness he had acquired in camps would prevent refined or artful politics, and they would never have any difficulty in understanding him. It was easy enough, he said, to do right, and that was what he intended to do.

Those who expected to have trouble with him were certainly disappointed, and his administration of ten years was a distinct success. He profited by Keith's mistakes, made no attempts to dispense with the Council, and achieved the happy medium of balancing between the interests of the proprietors and the interests of the people. In reality, he made the two interests almost identical, and there was no reason why they

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should be otherwise. The best method of ruling the colony was now, after fifty years of experience, becoming very well settled; and we hear no more of the crude mistakes and ridiculous scandals and quarrels which were so common in the time of the founder.

Gordon began his administration by a very sensible message to the Assembly on the subject of the paper money. The five years since the passage of the paper-currency acts had now elapsed, and they had been submitted to the Privy Council. The Committee of the Council on Trade and Plantations had warned the province that such acts were of a very dangerous tendency; and while in this instance they would not recommend the king to annul them, because so much of the paper money was already in the hands of the people, yet it must be distinctly understood that no more should be issued, and that the notes now outstanding must be sunk as rapidly as possible. Gordon confessed that on coming to the province he had been of the Privy Council's way of thinking, but had been convinced by what he saw and heard that the paper money had been a benefit, not only to the colony, but also to England. The importations from England had greatly increased. More ships were built; and the currency, instead of depreciating, as it had in other colonies, had actually risen in value. Moreover, the colonists had helped the situation by establishing iron furnaces and cultivating hemp, which enabled them to check the drain of their gold and silver to England; and, as these industries increased, the paper money would become more valuable and secure, and in time could be dispensed with altogether. Under such cir-

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cumstances he thought the Privy Council would be indulgent, and the people need not dread their interference.

The people were indeed just at that time clamorous for more of the money. It had, they thought, been a great convenience in trade. But many of the notes had been redeemed, and there was evidently not enough of the paper to offset the drain of gold to England, for trade had again begun to languish, merchants had large quantities of unsold goods on hand, navigation was discouraged, and the shipyards were idle. The Assembly prepared an address to the Privy Council, repeating the old arguments in favor of the money, and reminding the Council that they must not be too much influenced by the disastrous results of paper money in the other colonies, where it had been secured only on the credit of the government, for in Pennsylvania it had the additional security of the property of individual citizens pledged for its redemption.

The Assembly also prepared a bill to reissue the amounts already authorized, and add thereto an issue of £50,000, all to be repayable by instalments in sixteen years. Gordon, however, persuaded them to reduce the £50,000 to £30,000, so that the whole sum current should be £75,000, and this issue continued until the year 1739.

It was in this paper-money controversy that Franklin made his first appearance in political life with his pamphlet on "The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency." He was only twenty-three years old, had been in the province six years, and, though still a foreman in Keimer's printing-shop, was about to estab-

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lish himself with some partners as a rival to his old employer. His pamphlet has been absurdly praised, as a remarkable production, in advance of his time, and an enlightenment to the province. But those who have bestowed this praise were not familiar with the votes and debates of the Assembly, or, indeed, with any of the essential circumstances of the controversy. The pamphlet was in reality a very crude performance, far inferior to any of the papers on the subject to be found in the Assembly's minutes, and it maintained what were then well known to be very mischievous fallacies.

Franklin was at that time only half educated, and, like many other men of that sort, before and since, he believed in what he called plenty of money. He took up many pages in showing what a great stimulant to trade and prosperity was this plenty of money. He was completely carried away by the land-bank scheme, speaks of the paper currency as "coined land," and argued that any one who had land should be able to coin it into the new money. He believed that the money should be issued up to the full value of the land pledged for its security, and there was no danger in this, he thought, because the land in Pennsylvania was steadily rising in value, and the paper money that was issued on it by stimulating trade would make the land rise all the more. He also very ingenuously argued that no man would be so foolish as to borrow more of the paper money than his land was worth, and thereby impair the value of the very money he was borrowing.

Though he did not go so far as some other deluded

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ones have gone, and advocate an unlimited issue of paper money, he believed that it should be issued in very large amounts, and kept even with the advancing value of land; and he seems to have thought that this was very conservative, and far within the limits of safety. He lived, however, to have a different opinion; and in the part of his autobiography written in 1771, he says, "I now think there are limits beyond which the quantity may be hurtful."

But he still clung to the opinion that his boyish pamphlet had carried great weight and conviction, and says that no one answered it. Fortunately, it was not necessary at that time to answer such rubbish and nonsense. The men who were controlling public affairs had thought and read of financial questions before the young pamphleteer was born, had already carried through with safety one issue of paper money, and had no intention of accomplishing any more with it than to offset the drain of gold and silver to England, while, at the same time, they kept the amount of it far within the value of the land on which it was secured. This had been their intention in 1722, before they had heard of the young printer or his enlightenment. It was again their intention in 1729, and they do not appear to have been moved from their purpose by anything he said. Fifty years afterward, in the Revolution, when men of that sort had been removed from the government of Pennsylvania, and a party was in power that accepted doctrines similar to those of Franklin's boyhood, and attempted to put them in practice, the disaster and suffering among the people were terrible.

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Franklin's pamphlet was a bright and rather interesting production for a young man of twenty-three with few advantages. Among reckless people of the lower class, who hoped for some millennium from paper money which would make all the poor rich and all the rich poor, it was of course considered wonderful. The well informed either disregarded it entirely or excused its faults for the sake of a certain power of statement it displayed, which gave promise of better things.

The ten years of Gordon's administration passed away amidst the greatest peace and prosperity; and he was soon able to say in one of his messages that the oftener he met the Assembly, the more their confidence in each other was increased. A permanent agent was appointed to represent the Assembly in England, explain the operation of the colony's laws, and prevent their hasty or inconsiderate repeal by the crown. The appointment of this agent seems to have been a cause of much satisfaction to every one, the proprietors as well as the people, and the person selected for the office was Ferdinando John Paris.

Mrs. Penn, who, ever since the death of the founder, had showed herself such a prudent proprietary, died in 1733, after suffering for some time, like her husband, from a stroke of paralysis. Springett Penn had died in 1731, and Dennis in 1722, so that the heirs of the founder were now John, Thomas, and Richard. John, always known as "the American," because he had been born in Philadelphia during the founder's second visit, came out to the colony during Gordon's administration, but was obliged to return in a few months to resist Lord Baltimore in matters relating to the boundary dispute

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with Maryland. Thomas also came out and remained nine years, — from 1732 to 1741. During that time he sat as a member of the Council, and studied attentively the affairs of the colony, but unfortunately not to much purpose. He acquired a strong appreciation, in a narrow way, of his own interest, and learned to be suspicious and ill-natured toward the people. He was the business man of the family, and the others played such an unimportant part that they were seldom heard of or mentioned. For the next thirty-five or forty years people often spoke of the proprietor of Pennsylvania as if there were none besides Thomas.

He appears to have been no more than a very careful man of affairs, and a gentleman of some accomplishment; and we look in vain for any of the exuberance of spirit, daring energy, or broad, generous principles of his father, the great founder of our State. But although we cannot forgive him for defrauding the Indians in the Walking Purchase, and although he often ruled the colony narrowly and meanly, we must remember that he had a difficult task and great responsibility. He had to control a rapidly increasing population of nearly half a million English, Scotch-Irish, and Germans filled with the most advanced ideas of liberty and jealous of interference. He had not only to rule these people, but to collect from the lands they occupied the purchase-money, rent, and interest of a great estate, rapidly rolling up into millions of pounds of value, for which he was responsible not only for himself, but for his relations. He had to arrange for treaties with the Indians, and the purchase of their title to the land, to fight off the boundary disputes of

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Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia, which threatened to reduce his domain to a mere narrow strip of land containing neither Philadelphia nor Pittsburgh. He was in the extraordinary position of having the rights and powers of a feudal lord hundreds of years after all the reasons for the feudal system had ceased to exist, and of having to exercise those rights in a new and wild country, among a people whose convictions, both civil and religious, were utterly opposed to them. That he succeeded at all was remarkable, and that he succeeded so long must be put down as something to his credit.

The large fortune which rapidly began to accrue to himself and his brothers was spent upon their country-seats in England. John Penn died in 1746, and does not appear to have had much of an establishment. But Thomas purchased, in 1760, Stoke Park, which had been the property, successively, of Sir Christopher Hatton of Queen Elizabeth's time, of Lord Coke, and of the Cobham family. His son John, grandson of the founder, greatly enlarged and beautified the place; and far down into the present century it was one of the show country-seats of England, with its magnificent mansion-house, library, game, and herds of deer. This same John also built another country-seat, called Pennsylvania Castle, as picturesque and interesting as Stoke Park, and situated on the Island of Portland, of which he was governor.

While Thomas Penn was still in the province, a member of the Provincial Council, and engaged in studying the resources of his great estate, Governor Gordon died in August, 1736, in his ninety-second

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year. Two years elapsed before another deputy was appointed, and in that time Logan, as President of the Council, acted as governor. He had, however, nothing of great importance to trouble him except a quarrel and some bloodshed between the Marylanders and Pennsylvanians living near the disputed boundary.

Governor Thomas and the Spanish War

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNOR THOMAS AND THE SPANISH WAR

LORD BALTIMORE was at this time pushing his claims against Pennsylvania with considerable vigor; and besides the armed invasions he succeeded in delaying for a year the confirmation of a new deputy. George Thomas, a rich planter of Antigua, had been appointed in 1737; but Baltimore appealed to the crown against his confirmation as Governor of Delaware, which he declared was a part of Maryland. The Penns, however, as in all their other disputes with Baltimore, were again successful. Thomas was confirmed by the crown as Governor of both Pennsylvania and Delaware, and arrived in the province in the summer of 1738.

The first important event of his administration was the enlargement of the paper currency, which had been fixed at £75,000 ten years before, and was now largely paid off. A bill was passed providing for a reissue so as to make the whole amount outstanding £80,000; and this amount, continued by another Act in 1745, remained until 1773, when it was increased to £150,000.

The Quaker scruples about war had now been undisturbed for twenty-five years. During that time their province had grown prodigiously in wealth and prosperity under the benign rule of Keith and of Gordon; their commerce had been unvexed by the privateers of

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the French, and their public treasury undiminished by taxes to support the wars of England. But now England had been cutting too much logwood at Campeachy and gathering too much salt at the Tortugas; and Spain had been claiming the right to search English ships, and she searched them not in the gentlest manner. War was declared in October, 1739, and privateers were soon scouring the seas.

Thomas began the routine request for aid from the Assembly; and the Assembly, as the Assembly had often done before, reminded him in pious terms of their consciences. They said frankly: "The Quakers do not (as the world is now circumstanced) condemn the use of arms in others, yet are principled against it themselves."¹ Those who thought it right to fight had, they said, "an equal right to liberty of conscience with others;" and in accordance with this doctrine they did more than any previous Assembly had done, and gave the governor a loop-hole for escape. He could, they said, if he chose, as representing the proprietor, who was captain-general, organize a voluntary militia without the aid of any laws and without consulting the Assembly.

If Thomas had been at all familiar with the history of Pennsylvania, or if he had taken the trouble to read over the minutes of the Assembly in Evans' or Gookin's time, he would have thankfully accepted such an opportunity as the Assembly gave him, and not undertaken to force them. But, ignorant of their skill at reply and sarcasm, and fully convinced that their

¹ Votes of the Assembly, iii. 362.

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scruples were foolish, he thought he could turn them from their purpose and change opinions that were the growth of a hundred years. He was soon surprised beyond measure at the strength of their position, their nimbleness in turning phrases, the adroitness with which they seized on every unguarded point in his messages, repeating his words with mock respect and then turning them to ridicule, meanwhile calling to their aid all the resources of religion and sentiment. He found himself beaten and humiliated in the eyes of the people, who rapidly learned of the controversy at the coffee-house; and he soon added to his mortification when he complained that his salary was unpaid, and was reminded by the Assembly that they were not in the habit of paying much salary to a governor who opposed them.

The Duke of Newcastle, however, wisely instructed the governor, if he found difficulty in raising supplies from the Assembly, to allow one of the officers of the regular army to recruit volunteers. This plan proved so successful that seven hundred men were raised, although the quota required from the province was only four hundred. But many of the recruits were redemptioners glad of the opportunity to enlist and escape for a time their servitude; and this made a new difficulty with the Assembly. They refused at their next session to vote a single shilling until the servants were returned to their masters and some assurance given that no more should be enlisted. If the servants were returned, they offered to vote £3,000. But Thomas rejected this grant and raised funds by his own efforts on the credit of the British government. The Assembly used their money in indemnifying the

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masters who had lost servants, and paid out in this way £2,500.

The people approved the conduct of the Assembly, and at the next election returned the same members. The Quaker government and its war policy was at this time and for long afterward very popular with the majority. Even the combatant portion of the people largely supported it.

But the people and the Assembly were completely out with Governor Thomas. He laid an embargo without consulting them; and when he afterward asked them to lay an embargo on wheat, they had the opportunity not only to refuse his request, but to comment severely on his conduct. When the Assembly of 1741 was elected, he asked them for nothing. But they voted of their own accord a grant of £3,000 to the crown. They wished, they said, to bear part of the public burdens from which their fellow-subjects in England were suffering. But to Thomas they would not pay a penny of salary, or pass a single law he wanted.

He went on fighting them, however, sent letters to England denouncing the Quakers, and complaining of the manufacturing industries they were establishing. He collected a small party in his favor, which became known as the "gentlemen's party," while that led by the Quakers was called the "country party." The leaders of the gentlemen's party were William Allen, afterward chief justice and a leader of the proprietary party, and Tench Francis, the attorney-general.

This was a rather new division of parties in the province. The anti-proprietary party of the times of Evans and Gookin had long since ceased to exist; and

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David Lloyd for many years before his death had had no occasion to show his power of popular leadership. Under Keith's brilliant rule and the administration of wise old Governor Gordon, there were no parties at all; and there need have been none now but for the perversity of Thomas. The party that was arrayed against him was not in any sense an anti-proprietary party, for the proprietors were now very popular; but it was an anti-governor party.

The two factions had a trial of their strength at the election in the autumn of 1742. Great preparations were made on both sides, and the excitement was intense. The Quakers had secured the support of almost the entire German population, and were therefore strongest in the country districts; while the governor's party relied on Philadelphia for any success they were to attain.

The reason why the Quakers were always able to secure the votes of the province, and maintain their supremacy over a people who differed from them in religion and outnumbered them, was partly by the effectiveness of their political organization, and partly through the friendship of the Germans. Every Quaker meeting was a source of political influence and a means of persuading and compelling votes, and by many years of practice and experience the people had become very skilful. As for the Germans, they always expressed great gratitude to the Quakers, who, they said, had received and protected them with liberal laws, and treated them with a kindness they had not experienced in any other English colony. Thomas, however, always said that the Quakers won over the Germans by scaring

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them about the militia law, which was represented as likely to reduce them to the slavery they had endured in their own country, and would drag them from their farms to work on fortifications.

On the morning of election day, the governor's party secured the services of seventy sailors from the shipping in the river. Many of the citizens objected to their presence in the streets as likely to lead to riot, and appealed to the magistrates. But the magistrates, who had been appointed by the governor, replied that they were no more a menace to peace than the alien Germans. An attempt was made to elect William Allen, a governor's man, inspector of the election; and the moment this failed and a Quaker, Isaac Norris, was elected, the sailors rushed in and with clubs and fists cleared the ground of the country party. As soon as the polls were opened, they rushed in again to clear off the country party; but this time they were repulsed, driven back to their ships, and about fifty of them captured and locked up in the jail. The country party was also successful in the election, and all the old members of the Assembly were returned.

Thomas now began to be convinced that he was beaten. He came down from his high horse, assented to the bills the Assembly wanted, and was soon after rewarded by a grant of all his back pay. The Assembly were justly proud of him, for in his reformed state he was altogether the work of their hands. Their other evil governors they had gotten rid of, but this one they had kept by them until they had kicked him into shape. He soon had an opportunity to show his change of heart; for war was now again on between France and

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England. He accepted the hint given him five years before, and proceeded to enlist men from the combatant portion of the people, and asked for no assistance from the Assembly.

In this he was ably assisted by Franklin, who wrote, in defence of the undertaking, one of his characteristic pamphlets. In fact, Franklin was the most active promoter of the recruiting. A few days after the appearance of his pamphlet he called a meeting of citizens, and, after urging them to form an association for defence, he distributed papers among them, and in a few minutes had twelve hundred signatures. They were called *Associators*, — a name used for many years after to describe the Pennsylvania militia. In a few days he had enrolled ten thousand volunteers, armed and equipped at their own expense, which shows how large the combatant population had become, and how much in earnest they were for war.

This was Franklin's first real and serviceable appearance in public life. Sixteen years before he had, as a youthful printer of twenty-three, written a pamphlet in favor of paper money, which, though full of crude and reckless suggestions, had attracted much attention. It was, however, so far as it had any influence at all, an injury to public opinion. But Franklin was now a very different man. In the eighteen years that had elapsed he had established himself comfortably in business, and by reading and study had made himself one of the most learned and accomplished men in the colonies. He had already for some time been devoting himself to science, and was on the eve of his great discovery that thunder and lightning were manifestations of elec-

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tricity. He was thirty-nine years old, an experienced, prudent man, gathering to himself great influence; and his success in organizing the *Associators* gave him such reputation that the people retained him in the public service for the rest of his life.

He was ably assisted by Logan and other Quakers, who believed in defensive war, and they lent their aid in erecting a battery below the city. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who had been gradually becoming more numerous in the colony during the last twenty years, now appeared for the first time in politics, and their preachers published sermons in the cause of defence. The enthusiasm even spread among the Quakers, especially the younger ones; and many of the older ones were in secret sympathy with the proceedings, which they could not openly advocate without losing caste among the weaker brethren. Franklin tells us how the Quaker members of a fire company allowed money to be appropriated for the defensive measures, by purposely absenting themselves from the meeting at which the money was voted; and he estimated that nineteen out of every twenty Quakers were in favor of war. This estimate seems rather large; but it was fully justified by the events of after years. There is no doubt that the scruple against war was a whimsical fancy of which many of the leaders and more intelligent members would have gladly been rid, and they were ready to welcome any quibble and vote money "for the king's use" or for "other grain," or anything else that would serve.

Penn himself had always professed to be opposed to war, but he had appointed a professional soldier to be

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governor of his colony, was given by his charter the powers of a captain-general with the right to levy war, and on one occasion is said to have addressed a memorial to the king asking for men-of-war to protect Pennsylvania from the French. In fact, it was not uncommon for Quaker merchants to have convoys to protect their ships.

The Pennsylvania Quakers of the year 1745, especially those in the city, had become very much like the founder of their province, and were largely men of the world. They had grown rich and prosperous, and they had grown accustomed to political power. They were rapidly becoming in Pennsylvania a sect of the upper class. They were beginning to find many parts of their discipline a trifle inconvenient, and hundreds of them were for that reason becoming Episcopalians.

Their Assembly was soon asked to contribute to the expedition Massachusetts had planned against Louisburg; and as soon as the home government approved the expedition, the Pennsylvania Assembly voted £4,000, "to be expended," they said, "in the purchase of bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat, or other grain." This was the famous law of which Franklin tells us in his Autobiography that the words "other grain" were purposely inserted by the Assembly so that the Governor could purchase gunpowder. Some of his friends urged him to insist on a better bill. But he said he had learned by experience, and knew what was meant, and accordingly bought the powder, and no one objected.

After carrying on the government for four years in entire harmony with the Assembly, Thomas resigned in the summer of 1746. Of the other governors, some

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had taken sides with the proprietors and some with the people; and old Gordon had taken sides with neither, while preserving with the utmost fidelity the interests of both. But Thomas had, like Fletcher, differed from all the others by taking sides with the king against both proprietors and people,—a foolish attempt of which the Assembly abundantly cured him, so that they parted from him with regret.

After his departure Anthony Palmer, President of the Council, acted as governor; and he soon had to call the attention of the Assembly to the French and Spanish privateers which boldly entered the bay and plundered the inhabitants along the shores. One of the Spanish privateers, commanded by Don Vincent Lopez, came up the river under the English flag, capturing all the small craft she met and towing them after her. She evidently intended to take a Jamaica-man that was lying in front of New Castle.

When she anchored some miles below New Castle at ten o'clock in the evening, George Proctor, an English sailor serving against his will on board of her, slipped into one of the captured shallops and cut it adrift. The ebb-tide carried him rapidly away into the darkness, and when at a safe distance he made sail and steered for Salem. But when within a few miles of his destination the wind fell calm, and he was obliged to jump overboard and swim ashore. He reached Salem at three in the morning, gave the people the alarm, and then crossed over to the Pennsylvania side and reached New Castle soon after daylight.

The Spaniard was approaching, and he told the people what she was. As she slowly neared the town with the

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ebb-tide running strong against her, the wind suddenly fell and she was obliged to anchor. The townsmen manned their little battery and blazed away at her for an hour, to which she deigned no reply but a single shot, hoisting the Spanish colors, and three huzzas. Soon afterward she dropped down the river and went to sea.¹

The Assembly seemed to care very little about this privateering in the bay, and could not be persuaded to take measures against it. They were quite confident that the province and its chief city were safe, for the long reaches of the river were full of shoals, and the privateers feared going aground, or being becalmed or wind-bound in some narrow passage where they would be at the mercy of any devices the combatant portion of the people might invent.

¹ Col. Rec. v. 248, 253.

CHAPTER VII

THE QUAKERS AND THE INDIANS

ALTHOUGH the Assembly cared but little for the warfare of privateers in Delaware Bay, they were by no means easy in their minds about another war which, though as yet far off, was clearly foreseen. The Indians, who for the seventy years since the founding of the colony had never given the colonists an anxious thought, were becoming hostile. The French were urging them on and coming nearer and nearer to the western frontier of the province.

It had been a fundamental principle with Penn and his followers to be particularly fair and just with the Indians. As Puritans and reformers, the Quakers had always professed to be very much shocked at the way in which Christians deprived heathen nations of their lands, and robbed, defrauded, and murdered them. The legal theory of Indian land-ownership at that time was the familiar one that the Indians owned only the land they actually lived on and cultivated. Their right was simply a right of occupancy, and was lost as to any particular piece as soon as they ceased to live on it; and an Indian right of occupancy was not inconsistent with the ownership of the fee simple by a white man. An Indian land-title was about the same as the land-title of a wolf or bear. Expressed in other language, the In-

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dians may be said to have had an easement on the land for the purposes of hunting, fishing, and building their wigwams; and it was for the Indian and white man to agree when this easement should be discharged, but meanwhile the white man might continue to own the land.

The general rule of law, as laid down at that time by every writer and judge, was that no heathen people could acquire a title to land except that of occupancy, which would be valid against a Christian who wanted it; and the first Christian who took it could keep it. This rule of law, sometimes called the "heavenly title," has been recognized by modern courts as the original basis of the ownership of a large part of the territory of the United States; and in excuse for its seeming injustice a modern judge always reminds us that it has been long and universally acted upon, and is a practical necessity of civilization.

It originated with the Pope, and was part of the policy for the increase of the temporal power. When Columbus discovered America, it will be remembered that the Pope claimed it as his of right, and kindly gave it to Spain; and the comment has often been made that the Romans were arrogant despots and conquerors; they took what they wanted and because they wanted it, but they never claimed that there was enough magic in their religion to change the universal rights of property. It remained for the Supreme Pontiff to announce that Christianity was a good excuse for theft.

The Spaniards always carried out this doctrine to the letter, and believed that as Christians they had a divine right to rob and murder every man, woman, and child

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in Mexico and Peru. But the English and Americans have always shrunk from the original theory, and have compromised by trying to pay to the savages at least a nominal price for their lands, and avoiding as far as possible any cruelty or ill-treatment of them.

There is no doubt that public opinion among certain classes in England in the seventeenth century discountenanced all harsh treatment of the Indians; and there is also no doubt that the actual treatment of the Indians in New England, Virginia, and the Carolinas was far in advance of what was known to be the practice in the Spanish colonies. But this actual treatment in the English colonies was far below the standard adopted by advanced people like the Quakers. The settlers of New England paid the Indians for some of their land, and great praise has been lavished on them for such generous conduct. But a large part of New England was obtained from the Indians by conquest.¹ When Roger Williams, who had in his mind some of the ideas that afterward went to form the Quakers, was banished from Massachusetts, one of the causes of his dispute with the authorities of the colony was that he had upbraided them for their treatment of the Indians and their failure to pay for the land, which he said could not be granted to them by the king until it had been bought from the Indians.

Even when they bought the land, we find them gaining enormous tracts of country for a few bundles of hatchets, beads, and clothes. The price was not a compensation, and was not intended to be a compensa-

¹ Palfrey's History of New England, iii. 137, 138.

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tion. It was simply a method of quieting the Indians and obtaining a claim of right which could be asserted against them. Any one who has studied the law-suits over Indian titles knows the absurdity of these purchases. Deeds were often taken from drunken Indians, or from members of a tribe who had no authority to make a grant. Massacres and wars were frequent in New England as well as in Virginia and other Southern colonies. These difficulties, it has generally been believed, checked the advance of many of the colonies; while the entire absence of such difficulties in Pennsylvania for the first seventy years of her history has usually been put down as one of the causes of her wonderful growth and prosperity.

The seizure of the heathen's land, once done in the name of religion and now in the name of civilization, the Quakers tried to mitigate without entirely abrogating it. Penn paid the Indians for every rod of land he took from them; and the price seems to have been much more than was usually paid in other colonies. At any rate, the Indians were always satisfied. Penn's sons adopted their father's policy; and although in one or two instances, as we shall see, the Indians considered themselves overreached, yet it may be said that the whole commonwealth was fairly bought from them, because for a large part of it they were paid twice over, and this made up for any parts on which the price seemed insufficient.

In the great purchase of 1754, about seven million acres were obtained for £750, which was at the rate of about one penny for every thirty-nine acres. The United States purchased from France the great Louis-

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iana tract, containing over seven hundred million acres, for about two cents an acre, and Florida was bought from Spain for about thirteen cents an acre. In both these purchases the price was a good deal more than the Indian's penny for every thirty-nine acres; and yet under all the circumstances the Indian's price can hardly be called unfair. If Louisiana and Florida had been bought in 1754, when the Pennsylvania Indians sold their land, they would have been obtained much cheaper than in the succeeding century. But any defect in the price of thirty-nine acres for a penny was afterward largely cured; for the Indians becoming dissatisfied with the bargain, the land was all bought over again from them in smaller tracts.

It is necessary to remember also that the Indian land was in a certain sense not very valuable. A people who use land only for hunting cannot expect to be paid as much for it as a people who use it for civilization. Even if the Indians had been paid ten times as much, it would have done them no good. They could use money for no other purpose than gambling and drink; and although this is aside from the question of fairness in paying them for what belonged to them, it nevertheless deserves some consideration. The proprietors and the Pennsylvania Assembly were continually giving them presents in addition to the amounts paid for their land, so that so far as money could compensate them for the loss of their hunting-grounds, they may be said to have been in most instances very fairly treated.

But whatever may have been the complaints of the Indians against the sons of Penn, they never had a complaint to make against the father; and this was the

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great merit in his treatment of them, that he satisfied them and they liked him.

In his famous treaty with them in 1682 or 1683, under the great elm at Philadelphia, he gave them no unusual privileges or favors. The document itself, if it ever existed, is lost. No one knows its contents; and we have only vague traditions of what was done on that picturesque occasion, when the tribes are said to have come swarming through the woods and laid down their bows and arrows before the peaceful Quaker, whom the historians attempt to exalt by saying he was clad in the simple dress of his sect, and in almost the next sentence say that he was distinguished above all others by a gorgeous sash of sky-blue round his waist. So far as is known, Penn probably indulged in the usual Indian harangue about trees and streams,—a sort of language that is sometimes called eloquence, but more properly “baby talk,” and can be imitated to perfection by any Indian agent. But the speech usually assigned to Penn on that occasion is now known to have been delivered by him nearly twenty years afterward, when the Indians complained of the deed of the Susquehanna Valley obtained from Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York.

The treaty under the elm has been so exalted and embellished by historians and painters that it may be well to reduce it to its true proportions, and see what light it throws upon the colony’s relations with the Indians. First of all, it may be said that the usual school-book story of the grandeur and solemnity of the occasion, and the picture of the scene by Benjamin West, are pretty much pure fiction with hardly even a

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respectable tradition to rest upon. Indeed, all the traditions that create the picturesqueness of the scene are evidently after-thoughts, and have increased with time. That Penn wore a sky-blue sash is a clever supposition; but beyond the tradition of it in a certain family in England that believed it had the very sash itself, it has no firmer basis than Penn's well-known fancy for handsome dress and the likelihood that he would want to make an impression on the savage mind.

The great bubble of popular tradition about the treaty was first pricked by the publication of certain documents in the early part of the present century; and in 1834 Mr. Peter S. Duponceau and Mr. J. Francis Fisher prepared a report on the subject for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in which they gave all that was certainly known, and drew the few inferences that seemed warranted. Their work was reviewed, some new material added, and somewhat different conclusions drawn, by Mr. Frederick D. Stone in 1882. Read in the light of the cold investigations of these learned men, the great treaty dwindles to very small proportions, and many people have been disposed to treat it as altogether a myth.

It was always supposed that the treaty was held in 1682. But Mr. Stone has shown quite conclusively that, if held at all, it must have been held in 1683. There is no record of any treaty or purchase of land from the Indians in 1682, except a purchase made by Markham, Penn's agent, July 15, 1682, before Penn arrived. In 1683 there were two purchases,—one on June 23, and the other on June 25 and July 14. It was

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at one of these, probably the one on June 23, that the treaty was made that has attracted so much attention. The deeds show a greater number of chiefs to have been present on June 23 than at the later dates. This is slight evidence, but it is all we have. The only direct, written evidence that can be found to show that the great treaty was ever held at all, is a passage in the letter written by Penn to the Free Society of Traders, August 16 of that year: —

"When the Purchase was agreed, great Promises passed between us, of Kindness and good Neighbourhood, and that the Indians and English must live in Love as long as the Sun gave Light: Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachamakan, or Kings, first to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them To love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the People under my Government. That many Governors had been in the River, but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way."

The tradition of the great treaty among the Indians is, however, quite distinct. We have the records of their speeches at treaties many years afterward, in which they refer to the promises made of old by Penn; and their description of these promises closely resembles what Penn describes in his letter to the Society of Traders. The Indians said that they often assembled in the woods and spread out a blanket on which they laid all the words of Penn, that they might

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go over them and refresh their memories. By this they meant that they laid on the blanket the belts of wampum, each one of which represented a clause of the treaty. Each belt had been originally given to an Indian, with the clause of the treaty he was to remember; and it was in this way that they preserved the memory of past events.

In the records of the treaties in which the Indians give their recollections, the governors of the province also speak of the old understanding with Penn; and at a treaty held in 1728, Governor Gordon gave a brief summary of that understanding, which agrees with what Penn says in his letter and also with a document called "Conditions or Concessions," which Penn had prepared at the founding of the colony, and which contained the general principles on which the Indians were to be treated. The governor also intimated that the treaty was in writing, and at a previous treaty in 1722 Governor Keith appears to have exhibited the parchment itself. In 1685 Penn wrote as if the Indians had signed some such agreement: —

"If any of them break our Laws they submit to be punished by them; and this they have tyed themselves by an obligation under their hands."

It seems as if there must have once been a document containing an agreement of conduct and friendship in addition to the purchase of land; and in the secretary's office at Harrisburg there was once found an envelope which, from the indorsement on it, might be supposed to have contained this treaty. If it ever really existed, a duplicate of it must have been given to the Indians,

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and some have gone so far as to hope that it might still be found among some of the western tribes.

What it contained we can only guess from what Penn and his governors have said of it. Fair treatment seems to have been promised on both sides. The Indians were not to be overreached or imposed upon in trade; their persons were not to be insulted or abused; and complaints on either side were to be tried by a mixed jury of Indians and white men.

There was nothing at all wonderful in this. Such treaties had been made before with the Indians. Almost thirty years previously, in 1654, when the Swedes controlled the Delaware, their governor, Rising, had made a treaty with the Indians with similar stipulations. Some years later the Quakers of Burlington, New Jersey, had also joined with the Indians in a treaty of amity and friendship; and it may also be said that the Swedes and Dutch had always bought the land from the Indians. Penn was not aware that he was doing anything very remarkable, nor were his followers and friends; and this accounts for their failure to keep careful records of it.

Penn was a very busy man at that time. He was organizing the government of his province; he was laying out the streets of Philadelphia, as well as the lawns and gardens of his own country-place. He was visiting New York and Maryland, and travelling about to preach among the Quakers. He was surrounded by confusion of all sorts, — newly arriving immigrant ships unloading, houses being built, felled trees, stumps, and all the bustle and distraction of clearing a place for settlement in a wilderness. He had time neither for shows nor for

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talking of them. He went on organizing his government; and part of that organization, as expressed in documents he had prepared, was to establish a good feeling between his people and the Indians. He was not at first successful in this. The Indians appear to have misunderstood him, and their relations with him were not what was desired; for in the passage that comes just before the one already quoted from the letter to the Society of Free Traders, he says:—

“First prayed me to excuse them, that they had not complied with me, the last time; he feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time, in council, before they resolve; and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay.”

It was after-events, and not the treaty itself, which made it famous. The Indians had often before, and often after, heard fair promises. But Penn kept his, not merely in his own opinion or in the opinion of his followers, but in the opinion of the Indians. As ten, fifteen, twenty, and thirty years rolled by, and the Indians found every word in the treaty fulfilled by Mignon, as the Delawares called him, and Onas, as he was called by the Iroquois, the fame of the one white man and Christian who could keep his faith with the savage spread far and wide, and the savage sent it across the Atlantic.

Still, it was not such a wonder in England; and if the great treaty had depended on Penn’s countrymen, we should not have heard so much about it. But in

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France and on the continent of Europe the great men and writers seized upon it as the most remarkable occurrence of the age. To these men, brought up under Latin Christianity, and accustomed to the atrocities and horrors inflicted by Cortez and Pizarro on the natives of South America, the thought of a Christian keeping his promise inviolate for forty years with heathen Indians was like refreshment in a great, weary desert. Who was the man, and to what church did he belong, that he had done what had never been done before, and what it was supposed never would be done?

The man, it was answered, was a gentleman of education, the son of an English admiral, and the founder of the province of Pennsylvania, who had joined himself to a despised sect of simple people who had rejected all the doctrines and forms of mediæval Christianity. That delighted Voltaire. It was the foundation of his love for the Quakers, and soon he wrote of the great treaty the immortal sentence: "This was the only treaty between these people and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath and that was never broken."

Raynal is less concise, but he shows the feeling of the time: —

"Here it is the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, melancholy, and horror which the whole of it, but particularly that of the European settlements in America inspires."

To the Frenchman it seemed as if Penn had brought in a new era and taught the world for the first time that

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the lives and property of a heathen nation were to be respected. Our own people have caught this enthusiasm; and it has somewhat exaggerated the surroundings and details of the great treaty and obscured the plain truth of history. Returning to those details, it may be said that there is little reason to doubt that the treaty was held under the great elm at Kensington in Philadelphia, where the monument now stands. We have nothing but tradition for this, but the tradition is not vague. A tradition which points to a particular spot and a particular tree as the scene of an event; a tradition which has been handed down from generation to generation, which can be traced in old records and letters, and which in those evidences never varies in its statement,—is deserving of great respect. When the British occupied Philadelphia in 1777, General Simcoe was careful to put a guard around the elm to preserve it from injury. The elm was also close to the Fairman house, where Penn lived, and was the natural place for the treaty.

It has been often said that the effect of Penn's unswerving faith with the Indians preserved Pennsylvania in peace for seventy years; and this is true, for there were no Indian wars in Pennsylvania until 1755. But the good accord and friendly feeling with the Indians lasted only a few years after Penn's death, and the opposite feeling is generally believed to have set in soon after 1722. But more than thirty years after this passed away before new circumstances and the conduct of Penn's sons brought the Indians to actual and open hostility.

In "The Importance of the British Plantations in America," a book published in 1731, the author, who

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had travelled in America, contrasts the condition of the Indians in Pennsylvania with their condition as he had seen and known it in the other colonies; and he says in very positive language that the Indians were generally ill-treated, defrauded, and irritated in the other colonies, but were fairly dealt with, peaceful, and contented in Pennsylvania.

It has sometimes been said that the Pennsylvania Indians were peaceful because they were cowardly and vassals of the Six Nations of New York, which kept them in order. But, as we shall see, they always complained very promptly of ill-treatment, and even as vassals were capable of inflicting much annoyance when irritated.

During Penn's life, the settlers being still comparatively few in numbers and not pressing closely on the Indian hunting-grounds, matters were easily and loosely managed. Many deeds were obtained from the Indians in that time, all of them vaguely expressed, with boundaries by uncertain and almost unknown mountain-chains or by the heads of streams that no one had explored. One of these deeds gave the land on both sides the Susquehanna River without describing the distance either east or west. This deed was obtained in 1696, from the Six Nations of New York, who held the Pennsylvania tribes as vassals. The Six Nations in some instances declared that they owned all the land in Pennsylvania; but they usually claimed only the land along the Susquehanna, and probably for the reason that they wished to make sure of controlling that great highway to the South. When Penn established himself in Pennsylvania, they gave all their land to Colonel Dongan, the

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Governor of New York, to take care of for them; and from him Penn bought the Susquehanna country, which he was as anxious as the Six Nations to control as a great natural highway. The Pennsylvania Indians afterward complained to Penn that they had never been consulted in the purchase; and he thereupon laid the deed before them and said that he and they should hold the land in common. He paid again for the land, and in 1700 they gave him another deed confirming the sale in language equally vague. But they never forgot his fairness in the matter.

It was in this way that many of the early grants were obtained by deeds and deeds confirming deeds. The vague language of the Susquehanna deed probably meant that the valley was intended to be conveyed; that is, the land on each side as far as the heads of the streams that flowed into the river.

After Penn's death, the colony increased so rapidly, and settlers became so eager for new land, that greater care had to be exercised, and after 1722 the deeds became more accurate in their descriptions. Serious disputes with the Indians arose, some of which, however, were successfully compromised. Governor Keith settled, with but little trouble, a dispute between the Southern and the Pennsylvania Indians in relation to hunting-grounds, and his action was ratified by the Six Nations. Soon afterward two settlers named Cartledge killed an Indian with much cruelty near Conestoga, and great fears were entertained of a general Indian uprising. But messengers were sent to the Six Nations, and ample reparation was offered. Keith, together with the Governors of Virginia, New York, and

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the New England colonies, were invited to meet the Indians at Albany, where the King of the Six Nations pardoned the white men's offence.

"The great King of the Six Nations is sorry for the death of the Indian who was killed, for he was of his own flesh and blood. He believes the Governor is also sorry; but now that it is done, there is no help for it. And he desires that Cartledge may not be put to death, nor that he should be spared for a time and afterward executed. One life is enough to be lost; there should not two die. The King's heart is good to the Governor and all the English."

But the worst difficulty which began to arise about this time was that the settlers began to clear land and build cabins on tracts which had not been purchased from the Indians. This was a direct violation of numerous treaties and agreements,—agreements which had been confirmed over and over again; and there were very strict laws of the province to carry these agreements into effect. The Indians entered complaints every time the intrusions occurred; and as time went on, and the settlers' love of fresh land increased, the complaints became loud and bitter. The proprietary government could not buy the land fast enough to keep pace with the advancing pioneers. It is difficult to fix the blame for this state of affairs on any particular persons; and it must be confessed that the government made great efforts to prevent the inroads of the settlers, and sometimes removed them from the unpurchased land, and in any event made haste to purchase the land as soon as possible.

But in truth it was impossible to restrain the settlers. To the ordinary Scotch-Irish or German frontiersman,

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the buying of land from the Indians seemed like a farce. That good, rich land which would support a family of white people and Christians should not be cleared and cultivated because a band of roving, drunken, dirty savages claimed it seemed supremely ridiculous. The frontiersman would not accept such a notion seriously, or believe that any one would seriously enforce it. He went out on the land, believing that the government would be sensible and allow him to remain; and his faith was usually justified. The government disliked the expense and trouble of removing settlers and burning their cabins; and it was also a rather unpopular proceeding. So the settlers generally remained, and the land was in time bought from the Indians.

But the irritation of the Indians under this system steadily increased, and the French in Canada took advantage of it. Prominent and thoughtful men in the colony grew very uneasy, for they saw the inevitable alienation of all the Pennsylvania tribes, who would soon under French influence become the most dangerous and cruel enemies.

At last, in 1737, an event occurred which made matters a great deal worse, and tried to the utmost the patience of the Indians. This was the famous Walking Purchase. The greed of the people for fresh, fertile land had about this time become centred on the Minisink tract, which lay along the Delaware, just north of the Lehigh, and was usually spoken of at that time as the land in the Forks of the Delaware. William Allen, the chief justice, who was connected by marriage with the Penns, was interested in this tract. He had a general warrant for ten thousand acres which could be taken up

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in any ungranted lands, and he selected the Forks as his location. The proprietors also got up a lottery for the sale of these lands, and all this before they had been purchased from the Indians.

Their fertility and value becoming widely known, it became impossible to keep settlers out of them. They went in large numbers and began to clear and build. Immediately the clamors of the Indians became incessant, and an attempt was made to quiet them by bringing down deputies from their rulers, the Six Nations of New York; but nothing effectual seems to have been accomplished by this, and the proprietors seem to have made up their minds to get the Minisink land away from the Indians by an extension of the Walking Purchase.

The Walking Purchase purported to be a confirmation of an old deed made in 1686, and provided for a line starting at Wrightstown, a few miles back from the Delaware, and a little way above Trenton, and running northwest about parallel with the Delaware as far as a man could walk in a day and a half. At the end of the walk a line was to be drawn to the Delaware, and the land between these lines and the river was the Walking Purchase.

Long before the walk was to be made, the proprietors prepared the ground by having the line of the walk surveyed, and the trees marked so that the walkers should go in as straight a line as possible and lose no time. On the day appointed, the walkers, in charge of the sheriff, started promptly at sunrise, and were accompanied by men with horses carrying their provisions and blankets, also by some who went as mere spectators, and by some Indians who went as representatives of their nation, and to see fair play.

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The men selected to do the walking were the strongest and most active woodsmen that could be found. The Indians soon complained that they could not keep up with them and repeatedly called to them not to run. Finally, toward the end of the first day, being unable to stop the running, the Indians retired and left the white men to conduct the walk as they pleased.

It had been generally understood by the Indians that the Walking Purchase extended only to the Lehigh River; and it was their opinion that a walk of a day and a half would reach only that far. But the walkers passed beyond the river on the first day. They travelled for twelve hours by the sheriff's watch; and when at twilight he suddenly gave the signal that the time was up, Edward Marshall, one of the walkers, fell against a tree, to which he clung for support, saying that a few rods more would have finished him. The next half-day the walkers reached a point thirty miles beyond the Lehigh; and when the line was drawn from this point to the river, instead of taking it directly to the river, it was slanted upward for a long distance so as to include the whole of the valuable Minisink country.

That this Walking Purchase was a fraud on the Indians no one has ever doubted. It was regarded as such at the time and treated as a joke. It sank deep into the Indian heart, and was never forgotten. As they never forgot the kindness and justness of Penn, so they never forgot this treachery of his sons; and in a few years the mutilated bodies and scalps of hundreds of women and children throughout the whole Pennsylvania frontier told the tale of wrong.

The proprietors had made one mistake in their treat-

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ment of the Indians, and they now proceeded to make another. The Indians refused to quit the Minisink lands; and they procured white persons to write letters to the governor and magistrates, in which the proprietors were roundly abused, and the announcement made that the Indians would hold their lands by force. Upon this the proprietors sent for the deputies of the Six Nations in New York, and a treaty was held in 1742, at which the deputies of the Pennsylvania Indians were also present. The situation was explained to the deputies of the Six Nations, and they were asked to remove the Indians from the Forks of the Delaware. The Pennsylvania Indians were not called upon for a defence, and made none.

The next day the Six Nations' deputies having deliberated upon the matter and received a present of £300, answered through their spokesman, Canassatego:

"That they saw the Delawares had been an unruly People, and were altogether in the Wrong; that they had concluded to remove them, and oblige them to go over the River Delaware, and quit all Claim to any Lands on this Side for the future, since they have received Pay for them, and it is gone through their Guts long ago: Then addressing the Delawares, he said, 'They deserved to be taken by the Hair of the Head and shaken severely, till they recovered their Senses and became sober— That he had seen with his Eyes a Deed signed by nine of their Ancestors above fifty Years ago for this very Land, and a Release signed not many Years since by some of themselves and Chiefs yet living, to the Number of fifteen and upwards.' 'But how came you' (says he, continuing his Speech to the Delawares) 'to take upon you to sell Lands at all? We conquered you; we made Women of you:

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You know you are Women, and can no more sell Lands than Women ; nor is it fit you should have the Power of selling Lands, since you would abuse it. This Land that you claim is gone through your Guts ; you have been furnished with Clothes, Meat and Drink, by the Goods paid you for it, and now you want it again like Children as you are. But what makes you sell Lands in the Dark? Did you ever tell us that you had sold this Land? Did we ever receive any part, even the Value of a Pipeshank, from you for it? You have told us a blind story, that you sent a Messenger to us, to inform us of the Sale, but he never came amongst us, nor have we ever heard anything about it. This is acting in the Dark, and very different from the Conduct our Six Nations observe in the Sales of Land. On such occasions they give public Notice, and invite all the Indians of their united Nations, and give them all a Share of the Present they receive for their Lands. This is the behavior of the wise united Nations. But we find you are none of our blood ; you act a dishonest Part not only in this but in other Matters ; your Ears are ever open to slanderous Reports about your Brethren. For all these Reasons we charge you to remove instantly ; we don't give you the liberty to think about it. You are Women. Take the advice of a wise Man, and remove immediately. You may return to the other Side of Delaware where you came from ; but we do not know whether, considering how you have demeaned yourselves, you will be permitted to live there, or whether you have not swallowed that Land down your Throats as well as the Land on this Side. We therefore assign you two Places to go, either to Wyomen or Shamokin. You may go to either of these places, and then we shall have you more under our Eye, and shall see how you behave. Don't deliberate, but remove away, and take this Belt of Wampum."

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The Delawares appear to have slunk away from the Council like whipped curs. They rapidly obeyed the orders they had received, removed from the Minisink lands, some going to the Ohio, some to Shamokin, and some to Wyoming, where they were some years afterward found by the Connecticut explorers. The cruelty of bringing upon them their enemies and tyrants, the Six Nations, they never forgot. It deepened their hatred and their revenge, but it turned them from women to men. When their opportunity came in the French Wars, they revenged themselves not only on the white men, but on the Six Nations. They broke the yoke, became independent warriors, gathered together their scattered bands, and formed themselves into a nation of such unity and strength that in 1756 we find them boldly announcing that they intended to cut off all the English except those that might escape in ships; and at this time the Six Nations, instead of ruling them as women, were humbly offering to make a treaty with them, and trying to persuade them not to destroy the white man.

But the difficulties with unpurchased lands were not ended when the Indians were removed from the Forks of the Delaware. The conflict of interests moved on, and is given in full details in Charles Thompson's "Alienation of the Indians" and in the learned note to the second volume of Smith's Laws (p. 105). The proprietors found that by calling in the assistance of the Six Nations they had rather more than they bargained for. Having disposed of the Delawares in the Forks and ordered them out of the Council, the deputies of the Six Nations turned to the proprietors and said that

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there was another little matter of land that needed settlement. They had assigned some of the Pennsylvania Indians to live along the Juniata and the west bank of the Susquehanna. These lands had never been purchased, and yet settlers were intruding on them. The governor replied that magistrates had been sent to remove the settlers, and they would not stay after that. "We know you sent persons to remove them," said the deputies, "but they fail in their duty; they make surveys for themselves and are in league with the trespassers. You must send men that are honest."

The deputies of the Six Nations had just rendered such assistance to the government in removing the Indians from the Minisinks that it was evident that the Juniata difficulty must be settled as quickly as possible. Yet it dragged on for years. The lands were full of game, and used not only by the Delawares and Shawanees, who lived there, but also by the Six Nations, who sometimes came there to hunt. The lands were also fertile, and the white man was pressing in upon them, as he had pressed upon the Minisinks. The Indians were angry and persistent; and they came so often, and their council-fires and presents were so expensive, that in 1750, Richard Peters, Secretary of the Land Office, went with some magistrates to evict the settlers. The work was done with thoroughness, the settlements broken up, and the cabins and buildings burnt. Peters himself said that if he did not succeed in removing these people, it would not be in the power of the government to prevent an Indian war. But he had scarcely returned to Philadelphia before the settlers were all

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back again, and in a few years were more numerous and farther extended than ever, so inevitable was the march of civilization, and the steady alienation of the Indian.

Still the Indians hesitated to join themselves completely to the French, when in 1754 came another grasping purchase at the Albany Treaty. The convention that made this treaty at Albany was held by direction of the crown to break up the practice of the colonies making separate treaties; and it was hoped that all difficulties would be settled in a general agreement of all the colonies and all the Indians. To this treaty came the representatives of the Penns, determined among other things on a big purchase of land; and the Connecticut people were also there, determined on such a purchase as would assist their claim to the northern half of Pennsylvania.

The Penns gained only part of what they wanted, and secured a deed giving them a tract bounded on the northerly side by a line drawn from Shamokin to Lake Erie, and on the west and south by the utmost extent of the province. This grant included pretty much the whole of Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna. It was obtained by devices not particularly described by the writers of the time, but strongly hinted, and extending over a week. The Indians were deceived by compass courses which they did not understand; and the deed was irregular, without proper notice according to the custom of the Six Nations, and gave away the land of tribes whose representatives had never signed it. When its import became known among the Pennsylvania Indians, they felt that all their land

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was gone, and they must retire among the stranger tribes in Ohio. They went over in a body to the French, who promised to get them back their land, and when next heard of were shooting down the British regulars, and tearing scalps from the heads of women and children in Pennsylvania.

The blame for all this could not be put upon the Quakers, and the Indians seem to have always known that and remembered it. Indeed, at one time in the midst of hostilities, when the Delawares had formed themselves into an independent nation, the Quakers made a very earnest and successful effort to secure peace.

The alienation of the Indians was of course largely the inevitable result of the ambitious designs of France, and of the progress of our own race, which is very apt to crush inferior people in its course ; but a great deal of the blame rests with Thomas Penn, who was in the province at the time of the Walking Purchase, and directly responsible for it. He was also, through his agents, responsible for the grasping Albany deed of 1754, which sent pretty much all the Pennsylvania Indians over to the French.

But although the Quakers, so far as they had any control of Indian affairs, maintained an unblemished reputation for fairness, they accomplished little or nothing in the way of civilizing the Pennsylvania Indians, and it seemed as if nothing could be done. They could be merely dispossessed, and moved on and allowed to dwindle and become demoralized with as little harshness as possible. Their worst enemy was rum ; and if the Delawares had not at last been roused to manhood

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by their wrongs, the fire-water would have solved the Indian problem for Pennsylvania more rapidly and surely than kindness and treaties. The Delawares, Shawanese, and other tribes of the province were very inferior savages, cowed and degraded by the Six Nations of New York, and they easily succumbed before drink. Laws were continually passed to prevent its sale to them; but apparently none of these laws could be executed, for in all the records and writings of the time we read of the fire-water's frightful ravages.

The indifference with which the colonists allowed it to be furnished is well illustrated by what Franklin tells us of an Indian conference he attended at Carlisle. He and his fellow-commissioners had promised the Indians that if they would keep sober during the conference, they should have all the rum they wanted afterward; and the promise being faithfully kept on both sides, there was a most fiendish scene in the night. The drunken Indians, men and women, half-naked, fought each other with fire-brands, and the commissioners took refuge in the houses. Franklin closes his story with the remark that rum had already annihilated all the tribes of the sea-coast, and was possibly the means appointed by Providence to destroy a race that blocked the way of civilization.

Nor did the Quakers succeed at all in converting the Indians to Christianity, and the only effective work of this sort was done by the Moravians. The Quakers were never very aggressive propagandists; and even if they had been, it is difficult to conceive of an Indian turning Quaker. Such refined spirituality was beyond him; and he preferred the Catholic, whose elaborate

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ceremonies and ritual more readily appealed to him, or the New England Puritan, whose sternness he could fully appreciate. There were always, it is said, a large body of "praying Indians," as they were called in Massachusetts; and the French priests were certainly very successful at inculcating the divine duty of making captives of English children.

But although the Indians seldom joined the Quakers, there was no body of Christians, Catholic or Protestant, for which they had such a deep and permanent respect. The tradition of this has survived among the Western tribes down to the present day, and was so strong after the Civil War that President Grant believed that it would be well to put our Indian affairs entirely in the hands of the one sect for which the savage had no contempt.

The reason for this feeling of the Indian was not merely the recollection of fair treatment from Penn, but a certain consistency he had observed in Penn's followers. A savage is very quick to detect hypocrisy or a difference between preaching and practice; and when he heard Catholic or Presbyterian missionaries talk of gentleness, honesty, forgiveness, and sobriety, and looked about him at the Catholic or Presbyterian frontiersmen and traders who habitually cheated him, and whom he had often seen swearing, drunk, or murdering, there was no use in telling him that they were exceptions and not living up to the faith that was true in spite of them. The Indian traders of that time who cheated the Indians most atrociously were a very low class, often escaped convicts. They were the class the Indians saw most of, and they passed as representatives of the white race. But the

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Quakers, who, whatever may have been their faults, were undoubtedly a very sober, industrious population, who, although they might connive at war in the legislature, had seldom to the Indians' knowledge ever committed acts of violence, presented an entirely different appearance. There were very few of them on the frontier, and those few were very respectable, quiet people; and there was a story current in colonial times that some Indian chief had said that the Quakers could not possibly be Christians because they never got drunk and never killed.

But the time when peace could be maintained with the Indians by the recollection of Penn's kindness, their respect for the Quakers, the skill of deputy-governors, or the aid of the Six Nations was rapidly drawing to a close. The war which the French in Canada had been maintaining for half a century against the New England colonies was now working down into the valley of the Ohio. The French intended to get behind all the English colonies and cut them off from the Mississippi. They had planned a chain of forts from the Great Lakes to New Orleans, and they were soon exploring along the line, building camps or settlements and burying in the soil metal plates on which their claims were inscribed. They were rapidly winning the alliance of the Indians of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and soon seduced three tribes of the Six Nations. It was this war that the Quaker Assembly of Pennsylvania saw in the distance, and determined to do their utmost to prevent.

The Indians were not unwilling to allow it to be known that the French were tampering with them, for they were anxious to see which nation would bid high-

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est in presents, and in any event they would receive presents from both. A thousand pounds was accordingly provided by the Assembly, and Conrad Weiser, who was now Indian agent and interpreter for the province, was sent to learn in detail their designs. Maryland and Virginia were also urged to send presents and join in a great conference to be held with the tribes. Meantime the treaty of peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed Oct. 7, 1748; and the next month the new deputy-governor, James Hamilton, arrived. His father, Andrew Hamilton, had been for a long time a member of the Assembly and a distinguished lawyer of the province.

The treaty of peace produced only a cessation of hostilities in Europe, and was hardly noticed in America. The Indians, elated with the presents they had received from the French, began to show toward the white man a contempt which they had never before exhibited in Pennsylvania. The Scotch-Irish and Germans west of the Susquehanna had been entering on Indian land which had not yet been purchased by the proprietors. This was now a common offence, and the people had become accustomed to the Indian complaints of it. But an insolence altogether new was now exhibited. The Senecas on their visit to Philadelphia killed the cattle of the people as they passed, and robbed their orchards, and another tribe destroyed the property of Conrad Weiser. Such a depredation as this had been never before experienced in the province, and was very significant. These Indians had a little before visited Philadelphia, where they were given £500, but on returning home still greater regard had been shown them by the

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French, and they had come again to Philadelphia in a very independent mood.

To quiet the people and prevent retaliation on the Indians, the Assembly paid for all the damage done, and Richard Peters, now secretary of the province in the place of Logan, who had retired, accompanied by Weiser, was sent to expel the Scotch-Irish and German intruders on the Indian lands. But nothing could now stop the course of events. The Indians under the guidance of the French had learned the art of extorting presents from their friends the Quakers. Hamilton had scarcely been governor two years before the Assembly had to vote another large sum for presents to quiet the Six Nations as well as the Shawnees, Twightees, and Delawares.

If such expense should continue and all the damage done by the Indians was to be paid for, it would be a serious drain on the provincial treasury; and as it was for the benefit of the proprietors as well as the colonists, the Assembly insisted that the proprietors should bear a part of it. They had already several times raised this question during the past twenty years, and the proprietors had yielded and borne their part of the expense of some of the conferences and treaties. But now they absolutely refused, and began a long and unfortunate controversy.

The nine years Thomas Penn had spent in the colony and his careful study of its affairs had failed to enlarge his mind, and he had become hard, narrow, and meanly economical. It was to his interest to protect the province from Indians, for a war on the border would not help the sale of his land. Moreover, the presents that

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had been given the Indians helped him to buy lands from them all the cheaper. But independently of these considerations it was hardly worth his while to alienate the Assembly and the whole Quaker party for the sake of saving a small contribution to the Indian outlay; and he made matters much worse by the arrogant and irritating manner in which he replied to the Assembly's request. He threatened them with his displeasure, reminded them of the respect due his rank, and complained of the informality and lack of deference shown in their address to him. His family, he said, had already borne too much of the public expense, and had contributed £400 for cannon to defend Philadelphia. The provincial treasury contained plenty of money for Indian expenses, and the Assembly might relieve the people of half the excise; for the interest on the paper money was enough to maintain the government, and that interest would be soon increased by a fresh issue of the money.

Franklin had been elected to the Assembly of 1751 and drew the Assembly's reply to the proprietors. This was his first state paper, and certainly an able one. It began the long contest against the Penns of which he soon became the avowed leader, and which was continued until the Revolution. In this, his first essay on the subject, he warned the ruling family that the colony might soon be turned into a royal one, and to accomplish this became shortly afterward the main object of his political career.

The French were becoming bolder; and they now attacked the Twightee Indians and killed fourteen of them as a punishment for having allied themselves with

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the English. An English company called the Ohio Company had taken up lands along the river of that name, and were surveying them preparatory to settlement. This the French declared was an invasion of their territory, and they began to arrest English traders and send them to France.

But still the Assembly of Pennsylvania would do nothing but vote money for presents. The actual hostility of the French was, they said, a matter to be referred to the Six Nations and the Governor of New York; and they refused to build forts or trading-houses on the frontier, although Thomas Penn offered to contribute. The fort that was particularly recommended to be built was to be situated at the point of land where the Allegheny and Monongahela unite to form the Ohio, that important strategic point, afterward Fort Du Quesne, Fort Pitt, and Pittsburgh. George Croghan, the Indian trader and agent, was very urgent for the building of this fort, which he said had been asked for by some of the friendly Indian tribes as a protection for them against the French.

In after years, amid the horrors of the French and Indian Wars, the refusal of the Quaker Assembly to build this fort was remembered; and it was said that if it had only been built when asked for, the whole French invasion of the Ohio would have been prevented, the enormous expense and loss of the war rendered unnecessary, Braddock saved from defeat, and thousands of lives saved from torture and death. Some went even farther, and argued that not only would the French have been kept out of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, but the frightful ravages of the war in Europe would

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have also been prevented. So the blame for all the evil rested with the Quakers, they said, which showed how much trouble a little false doctrine could cause in the world.

The Virginia Assembly had, however, also been asked to build the fort, and had refused. Sometime afterward they started to build it, and it was promptly captured by the French,—an event which would have happened just as certainly if it had been built by Quakers, for there was not force enough in the colonies to hold a fort in that situation; and to build it was merely to make a present of it to France.

Commerce, Wealth, and Education

CHAPTER VIII

COMMERCE, WEALTH, AND EDUCATION

THE province being now on the eve of a long war, it may be well to consider Pennsylvania's advancement up to this time, as well as certain new forces and conditions which began to be felt.

The proprietors had now become allied with the Church of England; and this change from the faith of their fathers made it all the easier for the Quaker Assembly to quarrel with them, and laid the foundation for a powerful popular party opposed to the proprietary interest. Quakers were no longer appointed to office. Logan's place as secretary was filled by Richard Peters, an Episcopal clergyman. The old line of Quaker chief justices, like Lloyd and Logan, had come to an end; and men of the class of Shippen and Chew began to be appointed. The Churchmen, who formerly, under the lead of Colonel Quarry, had been the bitter opponents of the proprietary interest, were now strongly in its favor and enjoying its generosity in the distribution of offices. Instead of the Quakers controlling both the legislative and executive departments of the government, as they had done for sixty years, they now controlled only the Assembly, while the executive offices in the gift of the proprietors were in the hands of the Churchmen. In former years, the proprietary party, when the existence

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of a distinct party of that name was necessary, had been usually made up of Quakers, or nondescripts often called "governor's men." But now there were few, if any, Quakers in the proprietary party, and it was led by the Episcopalian. The rest of the colonial period is a history of the conflicts of these two parties, the Episcopalian and the Quaker, one of which controlled the executive part of the government, and the other the legislative.

Logan was dead. For half a century he had lived in the province, and during the greater part of that time he had been a member of the Council and secretary, and had served the proprietors with untiring fidelity. His leisure time he had devoted to studies and the collection of a library at his country-seat, Stenton. He made investigations in botany and other scientific subjects, assisted deserving young men like Franklin and Godfrey, wrote books, and corresponded with learned men in Europe. Linnæus named a class of plants after him, and at the time of his death he was considered one of the most accomplished men in America. In this respect he was Franklin's predecessor; and his library was joined with Franklin's to make the Philadelphia Library, the first circulating library in the colonies.

Two such men as Logan and Franklin were quite enough to make a little province only seventy years old, and not yet redeemed from the wilderness, the talk of the civilized world. Franklin had now made his great discovery in electricity, and his name was a household word in Europe. Other prominent men of the province were dabbling in science; and the merchants of Philadel-

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phia had at their own cost sent two expeditions to discover the northwest passage. The colony was certainly not suffering from mental stagnation.¹

It was, indeed, remarkably successful and rich, and, in spite of all disputes with proprietors, governors, and Assembly, had been very well governed. The paper money had been so prudently managed that even the British Parliament was convinced of its usefulness, and in an Act passed in 1751, prohibiting the northern colonies from issuing any more of such currency, Pennsylvania was excepted. Franklin was about this time chairman of a committee of the Assembly which with much complacency and pride prepared a report on the country's condition and prospects. From 1723 to 1752 the number of vessels cleared from Philadelphia had risen from eighty-five to over four hundred per annum. In the last twenty years the population had almost doubled itself, and in the last ten years the imports from England had almost doubled. The price of labor was very high, although thirty thousand laborers had been imported in twenty years, for so great was the prosperity that nearly all the laborers imported rapidly became employers.

Virginia was growing rich and reckless on a single staple, tobacco; South Carolina on rice and indigo; Massachusetts on codfish; but Pennsylvania was rapidly surpassing them all by means of a great variety of products. As far back as 1731, the variety of her exports had been remarkable, and was most attractively

¹ A full account of the early development of science and the mechanic arts in the province will be found in "The Making of Pennsylvania," chapter ix.

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described in that interesting old book, "The Importance of the British Plantations in America": —

"The product of Pennsylvania, for exportation, is wheat, flour, biscuit, barrelled beef and pork, bacon, hams, butter, cheese, cyder, apples, soap, myrtle-wax candles, starch, hair-powder, tanned leather, beeswax, tallow candles, strong beer, linseed oil, strong waters, deer skins, and other peltry, hemp (which they have encouraged by an additional bounty of three half pence per pound weight, over and above what is allowed by act of Parliament), some little tobacco, lumber (i.e., sawed boards, and timber for building of houses, cypress wood, shingles, cask staves and headings, masts, and other ship timber), also drugs of various sorts (as sassafras, calamus aromaticus, snake-root, etc.). Lastly, the Pennsylvanians build about 2,000 tons of shipping a year for sale, over and above what they employ in their own trade; which may be about 6,000 tons more. They send great quantities of corn to Portugal and Spain, frequently selling their ships, as well as cargo; and the produce of both is sent thence to England; where it is always laid out in goods, and sent home to Pennsylvania. They receive no less than from 4,000 to 6,000 pistoles from the Dutch isle of Curacao alone, for provisions and liquors. And they trade to Surinam, in the like manner, and to the French part of Hispaniola, as also to the other French sugar islands; from whence they bring back molasses, and also some money. From Jamaica they sometimes return with all money and no goods, because their rum and molasses are so dear there. . . . They trade to our province of New England, Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina, and to all the islands in the West Indies, (excepting the Spanish ones) as also to the Canaries, Madeira and the Azores Isles; likewise to Newfoundland for fish; which they carry to Spain,

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Portugal and up the Mediterranean; and remit the money to England; which, one way or other, may amount to £60,000 yearly."

Four years after Penn obtained his Charter the population of the province had risen from about two thousand to seventy-two hundred. Five or six years after that it had doubled, and so it went on until in 1740 the province had caught up to and passed every other colony except Maryland, Massachusetts, and Virginia. Ten years later Maryland was passed, and just after the Revolution Massachusetts was outstripped. For over a hundred years Boston was the largest city in the colonies. But about 1750 Philadelphia was even with her in the race, and soon was far ahead, remaining the metropolis of the country until excelled by New York in the first half of the present century. When it is remembered that most of the colonies were founded thirty or forty years before Pennsylvania, this growth seems very rapid.

Not only the province, but the proprietors were growing rich. Penn had lost money by the province; but his sons reaped a rich harvest from the quit-rents and sales of land. In 1759 Franklin estimated their wealth, derived from Pennsylvania alone without counting Delaware, at about £10,000,000 sterling, and their annual income derived from quit-rents at £58,936 sterling. This was, however, largely guess-work, for the Penns never made their accounts public. In recent years, their accounts have come into the hands of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and though no one has yet attempted a complete analysis of the numerous

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volumes, there is enough in the summary contained in the last volume to throw some light on the subject. From this it appears that their whole estate and property in Pennsylvania, that could be estimated in 1759, was not above £4,000,000, instead of the £10,000,000 estimated by Franklin, and their annual income was only about £10,000, instead of the £58,936 of Franklin. To bring these estimates to the equivalent values of our own time, we should multiply them by at least four, which shows the proprietors to have been quite rich enough.

In the Revolution, the Pennsylvania Assembly of course abolished the political power of the Penns and their feudal title to the land; but they were allowed to keep certain private estates which had been settled on the children of Penn's first wife, all their manors, and some of their quit-rents; and to reimburse them for what was confiscated, the Assembly gave them £130,000 in money, and regretted that they could not make the gift larger. This was certainly generous, when we consider that it was done in 1779 in the midst of a Revolution, when the property of Tories was usually confiscated entire without any indemnity. The amount the Penns lost by the Revolution they estimated at £944,817, and claimed it from the British government. They were given an annuity of £4,000 a year, which in 1884 was commuted by a grant of £67,000. They still own a few manors in the interior of the State, and collect a few quit-rents through their agents, and some of the land on which quit-rents are paid lies in the most populous part of Philadelphia.

But although Pennsylvania prospered greatly in

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material things, no efforts were made for a long time to establish a college, or seat of learning. In fact, the province was seventy years old and had made no provision for any sort of higher education and very little for even the mere rudiments. There were a few excellent academies, conducted by the Presbyterians, scattered throughout the colony, but none of any importance in Philadelphia. The Quakers as a class were not interested in colleges or universities and confined their efforts to schools alone. Many prominent men besides Franklin were alarmed at the ignorance in which not only the masses, but even the sons of the best citizens were growing up. The opinion was gaining ground that the people born in the colony were inferior in intelligence to their fathers, who had emigrated from England. Few could afford to send their children across the Atlantic to be educated, and at that time the only seats of learning in America were Harvard and Yale, far to the north in New England, and the college of William and Mary, far to the south in Virginia. New York and the other middle colonies were as destitute in this respect as Pennsylvania.

Franklin had attempted to establish an academy, or school of high order, in 1743, but was prevented by the Assembly's disputes with Governor Thomas and the preparations for war which fully occupied the attention of the colonists; and it was not until 1749 that his plans were successful. The academy was started and occupied a great building on Fourth Street, south of Arch, which had been built for the preaching of the famous Whitefield. It was rapidly filled with pupils. Four years afterward, in 1753, a charter was obtained for it

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from the proprietors; and two years after, in 1755, such was its success that it was chartered as the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia, and for the next twenty-five years always spoken of as The College.

In a colony so advanced in liberal opinions as Pennsylvania then was, and so split up into sects, it is natural to find the promoters of this college announcing that it was to be what is now called non-sectarian. Franklin says that the Board of Trustees contained an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Baptist, and a Moravian, with the intention of being very catholic and liberal. He adds that when the place of the Moravian, who was not very congenial to the others, became vacant, the Board were at a loss how to fill it. Some one suggested that Franklin was simply an honest man of no religion at all, and he was immediately elected.

The theory of this balance and representation among sects seemed very just and desirable, but it was impossible to carry it out in practice. If the balance had been really maintained, the college would have been a lifeless nonentity. In its actual working the control was sure to gravitate to some one party or one man, and it was much better that it should. The party to which it gravitated was the Episcopal and proprietary party, and the man was the Rev. Dr. Smith, the provost.

In fact, the greater part of the money which built up the institution was furnished by people of the Church of England. The proprietors gave it apparatus, a yearly sum of money, and also about £3,000. The provost visited England and returned with funds which he had collected from the two archbishops, all the

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bishops, a large number of the clergy, a long list of noblemen, and almost every college in the English universities.

The Quakers not caring for a college, it was natural that the control of it should go to the Churchmen, who after the Quakers were the most numerous religious body in the city. The Presbyterians were strong in the country districts, and they afterward had their own college, Dickinson at Carlisle. The Quakers controlled the Pennsylvania Hospital, which, being philanthropic, suited them better than a seat of learning. The college and the hospital became party strongholds, and were developed with the full force of partisan zeal and energy.

The selection of Smith for provost was fortunate for the college, and has added many an interesting page to the history of Pennsylvania. He was only twenty-seven years old when he was elected, but he rapidly became not only a remarkable college president, but a politician of considerable importance. His name is now meaningless to most of us; but in his day he was famous in all the colonies and as well-known among Pennsylvanians as Franklin or Dickinson.

He was a Scotchman of good family, educated at the University of Aberdeen, and from his earliest years seems to have had ideas of reform in education which he tried in vain to make popular in his native country. He came to New York when twenty-four years old, as tutor to some young gentlemen who were returning to America. New York was at that time as much in need of good schools and a college as Philadelphia, and her prominent people were looking forward to their estab-

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lishment. Young Smith again broached his ideas, but they were too far advanced for the New Yorkers. They were, however, in almost exact accord with the notions of Franklin and his friends, who had already established the Academy at Philadelphia, and were expecting every year to turn it into a college.

Franklin's views of the true method of education were very extreme. As there is no department of modern science the beginnings of which he did not develop, so he was the first definitely to state in this country the modern theory of education which discards Latin and Greek with the intention of substituting for them modern languages and useful scientific information; and it would be difficult to find any recent argument on the subject which is any better than his.

He was a very earnest advocate of what are now called English branches and what were then called foolishness. He believed that the systematic study of English would give the same knowledge of language structure and the same mental training that was supposed to be attainable only through Latin and Greek. Deeply convinced of the command of language he had himself acquired from analyzing and rewriting Addison's Essays, he wished to set up the study of that author and the study of Pope, Milton, and Shakespeare as against Cicero, Virgil, and Homer. It had always impressed him very much that after he had learned the modern languages he found he acquired Latin with great facility. The modern languages, he said, would give all the training that could be obtained from Latin and Greek, and were of more practical utility. Add to these languages a good knowledge of natural science,

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astronomy, history, government, with athletic sports thrown in, and your education was complete.

The other promoters of the college were not quite so extreme as Franklin; but they had the same general ideas, and when they found that young William Smith in New York was also of their way of thinking, they immediately called him to be head of their college. He had recently written a pamphlet in which he expressed his advanced ideas, and he was allowed to put them in practice in Philadelphia; so that it may be said that the modern theory of American education had its beginning at Philadelphia nearly a hundred years before it was established in any other community in the country.

Smith had made known his opinions in New York in a pamphlet called "A General Idea of the College of Mirania," written with the enthusiasm and confidence attainable only at the age of twenty-five. Mirania was an imaginary colony in America, of a rather mixed population, like New York and Pennsylvania. But the Miranians were people of great enlightenment, and had established the ideal colonial college, about which one of them named Evander gave a very interesting account.

The object of such colleges, Evander said, was not to make scholars, but useful citizens; and to this end his people considered themselves as divided into two classes. The first consisted of those intended for the learned professions,—divinity, law, and medicine,—who must necessarily stay in the old paths and study Latin and Greek. The second class was composed of all the rest of the people; and these were to be taught

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very much in the manner adopted at the academy in Philadelphia, suggested by the ingenious Dr. Franklin. Then follows a long description of the way in which a knowledge of accounts, mathematics, oratory, poetry, chronology, history, natural and mechanic philosophy, agriculture, ethics, physics, chemistry, anatomy, modern languages, fencing, dancing, religion, and everything else useful was to be pumped into that remnant of the population who were not to stand in the old ways. The students passed through the preparatory schools and the early years of the college course, drenched at every step with all this useful knowledge, which they absorbed through every pore, until they reached the next to the last class, where they were taught oratory and rhetoric, or the art of expressing themselves, so that the mass of knowledge which now distended their skins almost to bursting might be made effective in the world.

The last or fifth year of the course was to be devoted to agriculture, the philosophy of history, and the philosophy of politics, which would crown the whole. Reserving political history for the last, as requiring the greatest maturity of mind for its comprehension, was not inconsistent with the ideas of education which prevail now in our own time. The prominence given to agriculture was somewhat peculiar. Evander said that, like history and politics, it required the ripest judgment, and, like them, had been neglected in all previous schemes of education. It was considered of great importance at that time, especially in the colonies where there were no manufacturing or business classes, and where the men of substance and even the aris-

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tocracies were made up partly of shipowners, but mostly of farmers and planters. The farmer in those days and far down into the times of Jefferson and Madison was a man to be treated with respect, and was never made the stock material for comic journals.

It would be long to give all the details of this essay on the College of Mirania, which in some respects is more interesting than anything Smith ever wrote. It was too much for New York; but Franklin and the trustees were charmed with it, and declared that, though excellent, it was all perfectly practicable. "For my part," said Franklin, "I know not when I have read a piece that has so affected me,—so noble and just are the sentiments, so warm and animated the language." The young author of it was secured at once for the Provost of Philadelphia College; and the theories of Mirania were put into practice as far as possible.

As we read the printed curriculum of the college, with its ethics, natural and civil law, laws of government, laws of trade and commerce, architecture, anatomy, hydrostatics, pneumatics, light, optics, perspective, history of vegetables and animals, the "Spectator," the "Rambler," Dryden, Pope, Vossius, Patoun, Sir Isaac Newton, Lord Bacon, and so on, it forms a most extraordinary contrast to the short, simple statement which at that time described the old-fashioned mental sustenance which satisfied the students of Harvard and Yale in the north and William and Mary in the south.

These strange courses which Smith introduced also contained the beginnings of the modern elective system. But Smith was more than a college president. His active mind seized on every human interest within his

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reach, and he took his college with him into politics and made it a power for the proprietary party. He became the leader of that party pitted against his old friend Franklin, with broad plans for the advancement of the proprietors' interests, the conquest of the continent from the French, and the conversion of the Germans to English ways.

The Seven Years' War Begins

CHAPTER IX

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGINS

THE long series of wars between England and France which had now reached a crisis had been known among the colonists by various names. The contest from 1689 to 1697 they called King William's War; and in this Massachusetts had distinguished herself by the expedition against Canada under Sir William Phipps. Then there was five years' rest; and in 1702 Queen Anne's War began and lasted to the peace of Utrecht in 1713. After this there was a long peace of over thirty years, during which, the ocean being free from privateers, Pennsylvania prospered so abundantly under the popular rule of her best governors, Keith and Gordon. It was in this period that the province made up for lost time in having been founded so long after all the other principal colonies, and became such a wonder for rapid growth and success.

The next war, which began in 1744 at the close of this period of thirty years, was called King George's War, and was supposed to have been ended by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. But this treaty of peace was merely formal, and in America did not even amount to a cessation of hostilities. France continued to push her advantage on the Ohio, and in 1755 the colonies were precipitated into what became known as the Seven

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Years' War; and this war ended the series, and put at rest forever the question of who should own the North American continent.

In all these conflicts down to the Seven Years' War the brunt of the struggle, so far as the colonists were concerned, had been borne by New England and New York. Not only had New England, under the leadership of Massachusetts, taken the principal part in the expedition of Sir William Phipps in King William's War, the similar expedition against Canada in Queen Anne's War, and the famous capture of Louisburg in King George's War, but her frontier had been all the time in close contact with the French and their Indian allies, and continually suffered from their incursions. New England had had a long training in military affairs, and before Pennsylvania was founded had fought two wars with the Indians.

But from all these disasters and horrors Pennsylvania had heretofore been entirely free; and she had taken no part in the wars against Canada except to send men occasionally from the combatant portion of her people and vote money by the Quaker Assembly to assist New England and New York. Like Virginia and other southern and middle colonies, she was not much interested in these wars, which were so far away. All the colonies south of New York felt themselves protected from the enemy by New England and New York, and were not much excited by the contest. In fact, considering the security of her position, with New York between her and the enemy, and the scruples of the Quakers and German sects, Pennsylvania had done rather more than was to be expected.

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But the enemy had now begun to sting another colony and excite her to exertion. The valley of the Ohio, where the French were penetrating, was claimed by Virginia as part of her territory, and she made efforts to protect it. The expeditions she sent for this purpose, conducted by Washington, then a mere youth, are familiar history, and need not be repeated. Governor Hamilton appealed to the Pennsylvania Assembly to assist these expeditions, and entered into a long controversy with them to prove by maps and the testimony of hunters that the French were not only on British soil but within the limits of Pennsylvania. The Assembly, however, decided that the enemy were as yet only in Virginia, and the Virginians should attend to them.

After Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity, Hamilton appealed again, and might have been successful if he had not insisted on amending the money bill which the Assembly offered him. This at once drove them into opposition; and they felt bound to stand upon their constitutional right, the same as the right of the English commons, of having their money bills received or rejected without amendment. What they should give must be given on their own terms or not at all.

This was the beginning of difficulties which lasted all through the war. The governors defeated the attempts of the Assembly to defend the country by turning every money or supply bill into a question of constitutional rights. The colonial assemblies, and especially the Assembly of Pennsylvania, have been much blamed for their slowness in supporting the war against the French, but usually by writers who would not take the trouble to investigate and understand the real situation. It was

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not the Pennsylvania Assembly that was to blame, but her governor, who by the necessity of a war supply wished to force the colony to yield its rights established by the struggles of over seventy years.

Hamilton, weary of his disputes with the Assembly, resigned; and Robert Hunter Morris arrived to take his place in October, 1754. The Pennsylvania Indians were now rapidly joining the French; and when Morris asked for money, the Assembly promptly passed a bill providing for an issue of £40,000 in paper money redeemable in twelve years, of which £20,000 should be for the king's use. This sum of £20,000 was a very large war contribution. It was the same amount that Virginia, the most active of the colonies against the French, had just given, and it was much more than other colonies gave. New York gave only £5,000, Maryland £6,000, and New Jersey nothing.

But Morris would not assent to the Assembly's bill. He had instructions, he said, to assent to no paper-money bill unless there was a clause suspending it from going into effect until the king approved of it, or unless the money was to be redeemable within five years. These suspending clauses had been tried by previous governors, and always defeated. It was impossible for the Assembly to pass a bill with such a suspending clause. It would have been surrendering one of the colony's most important rights. By its charter, the province had a right to pass laws which need not be submitted to the king for five years and during that time were valid; and the Assembly dared not make a precedent of passing a law which should not go into effect till the king's pleasure was known. It would

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have been sacrificing the most important privilege the colony possessed; and the Assembly knew full well that, in this attempt on their liberties, the proprietors were aided and abetted by the Privy Council. It was fully as much their duty to resist this invasion as to resist the French.

Nor could they make the money redeemable in five years. It was too short a time, and would ruin the people on whose land the money was secured. Their land would be sacrificed by early foreclosures. Under the circumstances of the province more time than five years had to be always given for the redemption of paper money. Moreover, this was an attempt, like Hamilton's shortly before, to interfere with the way in which the colony was to raise the money. The king had a right to ask for aid, but it was the right of the colony to use its own methods in furnishing it.

The Assembly explained all this at length to the new governor, and also reminded him that Governor Thomas had assented to an issue of £5,000 redeemable in ten years; that Governor Hamilton, though bound by bonds and instructions, had considered himself at liberty to pass such bills without a suspending clause, and that this very question of a suspending clause had been raised before and decided in accordance with the opinion of the Assembly.

To make matters worse, the governor refused to let the Assembly see the instructions from the proprietors under which he was acting. This raised another constitutional controversy, for the Assembly had always refused to be governed in the dark by secret instructions; and they were now the more strenuous on this

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point because they knew that several bills had been recently introduced in Parliament for the purpose of making royal instructions binding on all the colonial assemblies without regard to their charters or constitutional rights.

These attacks on colonial liberty, the attempt to make royal instructions binding on the assemblies, the attempt to introduce clauses in their laws suspending their operation until the king's pleasure should be known, the attempt to amend their money bills and control the way in which they should raise money, the attempt to control the distribution and expenditure of their money after it was raised, were as far-reaching and dangerous as the stamp acts and tea acts which afterward caused the Revolution. Indeed, they were more so, and might have created revolution, if revolution had not been hopeless in the face of the French invasion. If almost any one of them — the attempt, for example, to make royal instructions binding on the assemblies — had been successful, it would have destroyed the greater part of their liberty; and if all the attempts had been successful, their liberties would have been completely eclipsed. If the Pennsylvania Assembly, for the sake of helping the war, had yielded to these attempts, the province might just as well have been conquered by the French; and in fact her chance for liberty under the French would have been better.

In their dispute with Morris on this occasion, they have been much abused for thwarting the plans of the British Empire against the French and for failure to see the manifest destiny of the continent. But they were no more backward than the other colonies,

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which were all very careful not to lose their liberties under the plea of assisting the war. New York maintained a stubborn contest against her governor because he tried to use the necessities of the war for forcing a permanent provision for his expenses of government instead of leaving it dependent on his ability to please the Assembly. As for the Pennsylvania Assembly, when they found they could not agree upon a supply with their governor without wrecking their liberties, they raised it in their own way by a committee which was authorized to borrow £5,000 on the credit of the Assembly.

During all this time when Virginia was so active and the other colonies were being asked for money, France and England were supposed to be at peace, for the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, of 1748, was still in force. It was the policy of France to keep it in force, and under its protection quietly push her settlements and forts toward the Mississippi. This was soon observed by the British ministry, and it became their evident duty to break the treaty, and stop this southern growth of France before it became too strong.

Two regiments of five hundred men each, under Major-General Braddock, embarked in January, 1755, for America, where their numbers were to be increased by enlistment. This was no sooner known in France than eighteen men-of-war with three thousand troops were ordered to prepare for Canada. They sailed in May, four months after Braddock had started, and an English fleet was sent to intercept them. The diplomats on each side protested that there was no hostile intent in these preparations; but the English officers had

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secret instructions to attack as soon as possible, and the French were also told to attack, but to pretend that they acted without orders.

The British fleet stationed itself near the southern coast of Newfoundland; but the French passed it in the fog and successfully landed their troops in Canada. Three of the French ships, however, were separated from the others; and on the afternoon of the 7th of June, when Braddock was about to begin his march through woods from Fort Cumberland, the fog lifted, and the three French ships found themselves almost alongside of the English. They were pursued, and about eleven o'clock the next day the "Dunkirk" overhauled the "Alcide." Soon she was alongside, and the French captain called out, "Is it peace or war?" Accounts differ as to the reply of the English captain. He may have said, "Peace, peace," or as reported in one account, he may have said, "I don't know, but you had better prepare for war." The next moment he settled the question by pouring a broadside on the Frenchman's deck. It was war, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was broken.

Braddock's Defeat

CHAPTER X

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

POOR Braddock! They have overwhelmed him with such a mass of abuse that it is difficult to discover what sort of man he really was. He was trained only in European warfare, and knew nothing of campaigning in forests or of the bushwhacking tactics of the Indians. But in this respect he was no different from other English officers. It was his misfortune to lead the first important British expedition that penetrated far into the interior of the American forest. He conducted it, of course, by methods to which he was accustomed; but he adapted himself to circumstances much more than has been generally supposed. After he was defeated, it was easy enough to see his mistakes, and in future expeditions they were avoided. He had the bad luck to make the first experiment, and be the sacrifice that revealed better methods.

As he was to march through Pennsylvania to drive an enemy from the province, the Assembly were required to raise three thousand men, supply provisions, and provide Braddock's officers with means of travelling, besides contributing to a general fund to be raised from all the colonies. But Governor Morris refused to accept the Assembly's grant of £20,000; and all they could do was to establish a post route between Philadel-

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phia and Winchester on the Virginia frontier, and furnish wagons and pack-horses.

Franklin procured the wagons. He had been sent by the Assembly to Braddock's headquarters, to give assistance and prevent Braddock from making a raid into Pennsylvania, as he threatened, to procure the wagons. It was while on this visit that Franklin appears in Thackeray's "Virginians," where he is described as a shrewd, bright, little man, who would drink only water, a good contrast to Braddock's roistering companions, but very unlike the actual Franklin.

Braddock had been utterly unable to obtain wagons in Virginia. He caught eagerly at what Franklin said about the abundance of wagons in Pennsylvania, and soon the supposed water-drinker was commissioned to procure one hundred and fifty wagons and fifteen hundred pack-horses. He returned to Pennsylvania and in two weeks had delivered all the wagons and two hundred and fifty of the pack-horses. He had only £800 from Braddock, and was obliged to advance £200 himself and give bond to indemnify the owners of such horses as should be lost in the service. Claims to the amount of £20,000 were afterward made against him, which would have completely ruined him if his creditors had not been lenient, and the government after long delay had not at last come to his rescue. This was his most conspicuous public service, since he had organized the Associators in the Spanish war, and his popularity was greatly increased. He had a few years before made his great discovery in electricity, and was rapidly becoming known throughout the world.

The Assembly also sent a train of twenty pack-horses

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laden with provisions, for the officers of the army, and at Braddock's request prepared to cut a road through the woods, for the march of his army. These were certainly warlike measures for Quakers, and they were going on to raise money for the troops and the general fund, when they were delayed by a silly attack upon them by the governor, for printing with their minutes certain letters which had already appeared in the English newspapers, but which the governor declared should have been kept secret. When in spite of all this, the Assembly passed a bill raising £25,000 in paper money for the king's use, he added to all his stupidity by refusing to sign the bill until he had showed it to the king. The Assembly, however, were determined to assist the war, and by the same plan they had adopted some months before, voted £15,000, to be raised on their own credit without any dealings with the governor.

This earnestness shows how unfounded is the charge commonly brought against the Assembly, that the principles of its Quaker majority prevented the defence of the frontier. It was the ~~governor~~ and not the Assembly that was the stumbling-block in the way of war supplies. Morris was one of the worst governors the province had ever had. After half a century of good government and prosperity the people seemed to be returning to the old evil times of Governor Evans.

Morris, when his whims were not gratified, was continually threatening the displeasure of the king, and also, with some significance, of Parliament. This was the beginning of the appearance of Parliament as an enemy of the colonies. Heretofore the colonies had been ruled by the king, and had had their quarrels with

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the king. But now the legislative part of the British empire was rising in importance, and Morris was one of the Tories who favored the extension of its jurisdiction in America.

It was now the month of June, and the bumptious Braddock, with something over two thousand men, was creeping down the western slopes of the Alleghenies toward Fort Du Quesne. His little army was completely equipped with all the arms, supplies, tools, and paraphernalia which in European wars were carried without difficulty over military roads. But he was not in Europe. Every step of his way to Fort Du Quesne was among the trunks of trees. It was trees, trees, the endless, monotonous forest, beneath whose shadows, day after day, and week after week, the minds of the soldiers grew weary and despondent. And he was actually attempting to penetrate these woods and pass over the mountains with a train of artillery. Instead of making twenty miles a day with fifteen hundred light-armed men, he was making only three miles a day. His horses, with only the leaves of trees and bushes to eat, were rapidly giving out, and his men were being weakened by dysentery.

The Indians, now thoroughly in the French interest, watched every step of Braddock's progress and shot and scalped any one who wandered from the line. As soon as they were assured that the white man's army was well into the Alleghenies and the province defenceless, they fell upon the border settlements and killed about thirty people, mostly women and children. This was the first Indian massacre of the war.

From 1682 to 1755, a period of seventy-three years,

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the good faith and honor of the early days when Penn was alive had kept the Indian's tomahawk in his belt. But times had changed; the Scotch-Irish frontiersman, the Walking Purchase, the Albany deed of 1754, and the cunning Frenchman had done their work, and the scalping-knife and hatchet were drawn.

Washington persuaded Braddock to leave the main body of his army with their artillery and press on rapidly with twelve hundred men. This advance was conducted by Braddock rather too slowly to suit Washington, but with considerable care; scouts and reconnoitring parties were used, and Braddock was not, as has been generally supposed, ambuscaded. Modern investigations of the battle show that the defeat was largely an accident,—a piece of bad luck, or good luck, as it seemed to the French.

He reached the Monongahela about seven miles from Fort Du Quesne, on the 9th of July, 1755; and he was not marching along, as some have said, in serene security and joyous expectation of immediate victory. His men were drawn together in excellent order, with flanking parties and an advance-guard. He had the choice of two ways. One was through a narrow defile where he might have been ambuscaded, and this he carefully avoided, taking a somewhat longer route in which he must twice ford the Monongahela. He expected that the French would attack him at the second ford, and he was right, for they had made every preparation to do so; but a strong advance party which he sent to the ford found no enemy, crossed without opposition, and guarded the opposite shore.

The truth of the matter was that the French were

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greatly alarmed at his approach and scarcely knew what to do. At first they are said to have made preparations for surrendering on the best terms they could get. When they decided to go out and ambuscade the English, the Indians thought it a reckless enterprise and refused to take part. Finally, at the last moment on the morning of the 9th, they were persuaded, and about six hundred set out to lie in wait at the ford, accompanied by three hundred French and Canadians, making about nine hundred in all. Open barrels of powder and bullets were placed at the gate of the fort, and, filling their horns and pouches from these as they passed out, the party plunged into the woods.

Beaujeau commanded them; but he encountered obstacles in his march. Some of his Indians wandered off and did not join him again for hours; so that he spent the whole morning without reaching the ford. Meantime the English crossed the river, and made as much parade and flourish as possible for the sake of impressing the minds of any French scouts that were watching them. They had eaten their midday meal on the other side, and had taken up their line of march again after crossing, when their advance-guard suddenly met Beaujeau and his Indians face to face as they were marching along the path to the ford.

Each side was surprised, and one was as much ambuscaded as the other. Their meeting was accidental, and the movement of the Indians which followed was also accidental, in the sense that it had not been planned beforehand. It was one of their regular methods when surprised, and it decided the fate of the

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day. The British regulars and the provincials, in a compact body and under perfect control, were driven like a wedge into the middle of their enemy. The Canadians instantly fled, and took no more part in the battle, and Beaujeau gave up all as lost. But the Indians went off on each side, and in a few minutes every one of them was crouching behind a tree or log on the English flanks.

Every school-boy knows the rest. On the English right there happened to be a rather steep hill; and this was another piece of bad luck for Braddock, and probably gave rise to the story that he was ambuscaded. The Indian riflemen swarmed on this hill; but nothing of them could be seen but puffs of smoke. Those same puffs of smoke came from every other quarter; and the heroic English and provincials poured in volley after volley and tore the bark off the trees with artillery in vain. Braddock dashed up and down among his men, cursing and encouraging; and they replied to him that they would fight if he would show them the enemy. During the whole three hours they scarcely saw twenty Indians. Some of the regulars got behind trees and logs, but Braddock beat them away with the flat of his sword. Some of the Virginia provincials also secured a fallen tree and were fighting in Indian fashion, when the regulars, mistaking them for savages, fired from behind and killed and wounded nearly all of them. The confusion became so great that the English were constantly shooting each other, and it was at one time thought that Braddock himself met death in that way.

Meanwhile the Indians, with rests for their rifles and security for their persons, enjoyed three hours of target

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practice, deliberately picking out officers and favorite victims, aiming many a shot at the general, until, after killing four horses under him, one of them sent a ball through his right arm and into his lungs. Of eighty-six officers, sixty-three were killed or disabled; and out of the thirteen hundred men, only four hundred and fifty-nine escaped. The French lost only three or four; and the Indian loss, though not certainly known, was probably not much over fifty killed and wounded. The Indians did the fighting, and the victory was theirs.

CHAPTER XI

THE INDIANS REVENGE THEMSELVES ON PENNSYLVANIA

MUCH of the abuse which has been so freely poured out on Braddock would be more deserved if it were applied to Dunbar, who had been left in command of the rear with a large part of the men and all the heavy baggage. He could have made a stand where he was, and protected the frontier from the Indians, and possibly, with reinforcements, have retrieved the disaster at Fort Du Quesne. He was urged to do so, and promised assistance. But as soon as his flying and demoralized companions fell back upon him, he also took flight, burned his wagons, emptied his barrels of powder into the brooks, scattered his provisions through the woods, and began a hasty retreat to Fort Cumberland. Arrived there, he turned the place into a hospital. He was entreated to stay and hold his ground by Dinwiddie, the Governor of Virginia, and by Morris, the Governor of Pennsylvania. Even the Quaker Assembly urged it, and suggested to Morris the importance of taking any necessary steps that would insure Dunbar remaining to protect the frontier. But nothing would stop him, and as soon as he could he retreated to the peace and safety of Philadelphia.

General Shirley, at one time Governor of Massachusetts, was now, since Braddock's death, in command of

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the American forces. He was more interested in the part of the war that would protect New England and New York, and he wanted Dunbar's troops to help him; and being thus justified, Dunbar could see no necessity for entering again the shadows of those terrible forests of the Alleghenies.

This was a signal to the French, and from all sides they summoned the Indians, and, putting French officers among them, plunged them into the Pennsylvania frontier. Delawares and Shawanees, the old treaty friends of Penn, Mingoes, renegades of the Six Nations, Hurons, Pottawattamies, Ojibwas, and Ottawas from the west,—all rushed to reap the harvest of scalps. Dumas, now in command of Fort Du Quesne, boasted that he had massed his savages through a stretch of country thirty leagues wide, and completely ruined the border settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. The Indian villages, he said, were full of prisoners, and "the enemy had lost more since the battle than on the day of his defeat."

The worst onsets of the Indians occurred in September and October. The outermost settlements of Pennsylvania at that time were few and far between: usually a single wretched cabin of logs, roofed with bark, fallen trees and stumps all round, and within a hardy, uncouth family of Scotch-Irish. A few yards from the door began the interminable forest, and the nearest neighbor was possibly four or five miles away, or perhaps ten or twenty.

As the Indian parties made their way eastward, they usually disposed of little clearings of this sort in a few

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minutes, or within an hour. No one knows how many of these families perished hidden in the depths of the woods; nor can we now describe all the horrors, the agonies of the women and children, and the disgusting brutality that visited hundreds of these homes unknown or soon forgotten. There was a sameness about every attack. The stealthy stalking from tree to tree until the clearing was reached, the creeping from stump to stump, the sudden shot, and then that familiar colonial scene, — the plough standing in the furrow, the horses loose and running, the father on his face, with his scalpless skull bleeding into the fresh ground, the mother and children brained and scalped at the door of the cabin, the cabin in flames, and the Indians disappearing in the shadows of the distant woods.

Sometimes a stray hunter, or a neighbor, who the next day cautiously approached the spot, beheld a still more terrible sight. The Indians had disembowelled the father, and stuffed parts of his body into his mouth. The mother was laid out on the bed of the cabin scalped, and with one of her scalped children placed under her head for a pillow, a stake was driven through her body into the bed, and there were sometimes other disgusting mutilations which cannot be related.

Similar scenes had been more or less familiar in New England and New York for a hundred years; but they had never been known before in Pennsylvania. The people of the outer settlements usually had hunting weapons, which, however, were about as valuable as sticks against the sudden and stealthy approach of the Indians. But as the Indian parties pressed into the more settled regions, where some of the clearings

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had become farms, they found a people totally unprepared, and many of them without arms of any kind. So profound and secure had been the seventy years of peace under the treaty of William Penn.

A few months after the defeat of Braddock the country round the present site of Harrisburg was ravaged, the Moravian settlements near Bethlehem attacked, and the people of Gnadenhutten massacred, and their village burned. The enemy even went so far as to establish a headquarters for prisoners and plunder in Northampton County, not far from Bethlehem. In one place the Indians came upon a schoolhouse, killed and scalped the master and every one of the children. Women and children seemed to be their special object; and, in some instances, they indulged themselves in rape before using the knife and hatchet. The French officers, who were with them, are said to have had instructions to prevent cruelty and brutality, but they were powerless for that purpose; and the slaughter and torturing went on. Families were scalped within fifty miles of Philadelphia. The bodies of one murdered family were brought to the city, exhibited in the streets, and finally laid out before the State-house, in the hope of arousing either sympathy or vengeance in the peaceful Quaker breast.

What were the Quakers and their Assembly doing? Much nonsense and abuse has been written about them; and they have been described by certain brilliant writers as walking the quiet streets of Philadelphia, fat and well dressed, a placid smile beneath their broad-brimmed hats, safe from alarms and the scalping-knife, and indifferent to the sufferings of others. Their

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religious belief has been decried as preventing at this time the protection of the frontier, and their quarrels with the governor as entirely unnecessary on their part, and, in fact, forced by them upon the governor as an excuse for not granting military supplies.

But a careful examination of the records of the time shows that all this is a mistake. Pennsylvania behaved as well as, if not better than, the other colonies. Virginia and Maryland were in the same condition, were invaded by the Indians, their border population slaughtered, and the survivors driven in in herds upon the more settled districts. Virginia did nothing and could do nothing, although she had no people with conscientious scruples against war, and although her governor, Dinwiddie, was the most active of all the enthusiasts against the French. Washington was in command of about fifteen hundred Virginians, but he could make no move against the enemy. His men were turbulent and disorderly, and resented every kind of discipline as an infringement of their liberties. Indignant and in despair at the situation, he wrote to Dinwiddie that he was ready to resign and give up his commission, were it not for a stern sense of duty that kept him at his post.

"The supplicating tears of the women and moving petitions of the men melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease."

The truth was that the whole population of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia was in a state of panic and demoralization. Every day flying families of fron-

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tiersmen were coming in by every road. At one gap in the Blue Ridge it was said to have been difficult, at one time, for a person going westward to make his way against the crowd of fugitives. The withdrawal of Dunbar from the frontier, and the evident intention of the British regulars to leave the middle colonies to their fate, added to the alarm. It was impossible to do anything until the panic had subsided; and the Quaker Assembly of Pennsylvania did the best it could, and fully as much as the Assembly of any other colony.

They had no money in the Treasury to use, and they could not raise money by a new issue of paper currency, because they had attempted that twice, and each time Governor Morris had rejected their bill by foolish excuses about his instructions. They were therefore driven to the necessity of raising money for defence by a direct tax upon the people, and they passed a bill voting £50,000 to the king's use, to be raised by a tax of twelve pence per pound and twenty shillings per head for two years on all estates, real and personal, the estate of the proprietors not excepted.

That the colony should be taxed to support the war, and that the largest landholders and the richest people of the colony — the proprietors — should be exempt, was manifestly unfair. The money to be raised was to protect the property of the proprietors as much as the property of the humblest citizen. Indeed, it was more for the protection of the proprietors' property, which lay west of the Alleghenies, and was the land which the Indians and French were invading. The people of the province lived east of the mountains,

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and most of them east of the Susquehanna; and it was hardly fair that they alone should pay for measures of defence that would enable the proprietors to sell their western lands and grow rich. The Assembly could have never again faced their constituents, and would have been a laughing-stock to all sensible men, if, in passing a law to raise money for defence by taxation, they had exempted the proprietary estate.

The governor, of course, rejected the Assembly's bill because it taxed the proprietary estate. The tax on the estate was a trifle, — only about £500 a year; but the controversy was as long and bitter as if millions had been involved. New demands came in for supplies to assist expeditions against Canada and retrieve Braddock's defeat, and the Assembly and governor went on quarrelling. Unable to pass a supply bill without jeopardizing their rights, the Assembly resorted to the plan of raising £10,000 by voluntary subscription, on the promise that the Assembly would reimburse the subscribers.

Indeed, the war feeling among the Quakers and peace-loving Germans was becoming stronger and stronger. Petitions for arms and ammunition were pouring in from every part of the country. The mayor, with some of the principal citizens of Philadelphia, petitioned; and a large body of Germans, four hundred in number, marched to the city, unarmed and quietly, but with a rough bluntness that was quite persuasive, demanding protection. They first applied to the governor, who, of course, referred them to the Assembly, and then they visited the Assembly, crowding into their hall, and talking to the members, face to face. About three

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hundred Indians still remained faithful to the memory of Penn; and these also added their supplications, declaring that if they were not protected they would, as a matter of mere self-preservation, be compelled to take sides with the French. When, in the midst of all this, some of the strictest Quakers presented to the Assembly petitions remonstrating against war, they counted for nothing.

The great majority of the Quakers and the great majority of the Germans, together with a large part of the rest of the province, were not only in favor of defence, but also fully supported the Assembly in their contest with the governor on the principle that defence must not be obtained with the sacrifice of one jot of the province's liberties. The elections in the autumn of 1755, in the midst of all the Indian atrocities, show very clearly that the Assembly had been acting, both as regards defence and as regards the quarrels with the governor, in entire accord with the general sentiment of the people.

Hoping that a compromise could be effected with the governor, the Assembly passed a bill granting £60,000 to the king's use, redeemable in four years by a tax on the people and the proprietors, but providing that if the crown should afterward declare the proprietary estates exempt, the tax, if assessed, should not be levied, or if levied should be paid back. This was certainly a good deal of a compromise for the Assembly. The governor rejected it. It was too near what he wanted, and gave no chance for a dispute; so he suggested that another bill be prepared for taxing the proprietary estates, by persons chosen both by himself and

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the House, such bill not to go into operation until approved by the king.

As this amendment would set a precedent for suspending the operation of a law until approved by the king, and was also an amendment of a money bill by the executive, the Assembly were obliged to reject it. But they were soon defeated in an unexpected way. A clamor had been raised in England against the proprietors for defeating, through their governor, the efforts of the Assembly to raise money for the war. They were compelled to do something, and, accordingly, sent over word that they would subscribe £5,000 for the protection of the colony. Such extraordinary liberality took every one by surprise. The Assembly yielded, and the money bill was passed without taxing the proprietary estates.

The gift, however, was not without some of the characteristic shrewdness of Thomas Penn. The whole £5,000 was to be collected out of the arrears of quit-rents due the proprietors, and the payment of it was long delayed. So Mr. Penn was not much out of pocket by his beneficence, for he had saddled his bad debts on the province, and given himself a reputation for generosity at the same time.

About this time Franklin prepared a militia law, which was passed in November, 1755, and was the first law of the kind the colony had ever had. A Quaker militia law is certainly an anomaly; and many would say that such a law was impossible, and could never have been passed in the Quaker Assembly of Pennsylvania. But passed it was, and without difficulty. More than a thousand men were recruited

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under it, and sent to shoot through port-holes at the Indians.

The preamble of the law was rather long, drawn with great care, largely made up of sentences taken from previous Quaker utterances on war, and was a fair statement of what was undoubtedly the general feeling of the majority of the Quakers and Germans on that question. There has been so much hasty criticism on this point, and so many sweeping statements of the Quaker belief and its effect on the defence of the frontier, that it may be well to give some consideration to this preamble.

It began by saying that the colony had been founded by Quakers, and that the majority of the Assembly had always been of that faith. They had no objection to others bearing arms, but were themselves principled against it. To compel them to bear arms would violate a fundamental part of the province's Constitution, and be a direct breach of the Charter of Privileges. It would be, in fact, a persecution. In like manner, it would be wrong for the Quakers to compel others to bear arms, and at the same time exempt themselves. But as by the general toleration and equity of the Quaker laws great numbers of people had come among them, of various religions, under no restraint against bearing arms, but, on the contrary, thinking it their duty to fight for their country, families, and property, these, if they wished it, should be allowed to organize as soldiers. They had a right to their liberty of conscience, and as the Quaker Assembly represented all the people of the province, it was bound to give them, if they asked it, the legal means for carrying out their

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belief. If they wanted to fight, and thought it right to fight, they should not be in the least restrained from doing what they judged it their duty to do for their own security and the public good. Wherefore it would now be lawful for them to form themselves into companies under certain regulations which were given at length.

It was to be altogether a volunteer system. But two years afterward, when the war feeling had grown stronger, the Quaker Assembly passed quite a stringent compulsory militia bill, which writers who complain that the Quakers would not protect the frontier are careful not to mention. They also fail to mention that the governor vetoed this bill; and the strict Quakers of modern times of course ignore the whole matter.

The first law, prepared by Franklin, was, however, not altogether popular among the combatant portion of the people because it exempted from service those who had scruples of conscience. Many flatly refused to fight for the lives and property of men who were too foolish to fight for themselves; and Franklin had to write one of his best pamphlets and make unusual exertions to overcome this scruple, which stood in the way of the colony's defence. But he was very successful in this, as in his former attempt many years before, to raise soldiers, and soon not only had men, but was himself their commander.

That the philosopher, electrician, and Assembly man should be selected as the leader of a provincial war-party against the Indians is a striking proof of the profound peace the colony had enjoyed ever since its

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foundation. The province, which was soon to become so remarkable for generals and military men, had not then a single one. Franklin was chosen because he seemed to know everything, and it was presumed that among other acquirements he might possess the art of war. As a matter of fact, he hated anything like contention and warfare; never used a gun even for amusement, and never kept a weapon of any kind in his house. He was well aware of his own unfitness, and as he had declined to be a judge because of his ignorance of law, so he tried to avoid this military office; but it was forced upon him. Indeed, it would have been difficult to have found any one in whom the men had so much confidence; and the expedition he conducted was about as successful as many others.

He led about five hundred and forty men to Bethlehem and the Lehigh Valley, where the village of Gnadenhutten had been burned, and its inhabitants massacred, in November. That part of the frontier was supposed to be in great danger; and the Moravians, like the Quakers, had suddenly discovered that they were not as much opposed to war as they supposed. They had obtained arms and ammunition from New York, surrounded themselves with a stockade, and collected stones in the windows of their houses for the women to use on hostile heads below. They had some years before obtained an Act of Parliament, exempting them from military service because of their conscientious scruples; and Franklin, in talking to their bishop, Spangenberg, expressed his surprise at the posture he found them in. The reply of the bishop shows that the war feeling had developed among them just as it

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had among the Quakers. Aversion to war was, he said, not one of their established principles; but at the time of their obtaining the Act of Parliament, it was thought to be a principle with many of their people. On this occasion, however, they, to their surprise, found it adopted by but few.

Franklin had arrived among them with his little army in December, and immediately began to build small forts to protect the valley. He probably checked the Indians during the two months of his stay. They were, however, all the time sitting on the hill-tops in the coldest weather, with their feet hanging down into holes, where they had built little charcoal fires. They watched every movement of his men and killed ten unfortunate farmers almost under his nose.

Franklin returned to Philadelphia in February, a triumphant philosopher militant. It was, indeed, extraordinary that a man fifty-seven years old, known the world over for his discoveries and writings, should have been appointed to lead a backwoods foray, to sleep on the ground and in barns, to arrange the order of scouting parties, and regulate the serving of grog to his men; and still more extraordinary that he should have been somewhat successful. He seems to have fully understood the situation, and handled his men with a knowledge of woodcraft and Indian tactics that would have been of much value to many a British officer. So great was his popularity that he was made colonel of the twelve hundred men raised under his law; and the governor wanted him to lead an expedition against Fort Du Quesne.

All that winter and all the spring and summer of

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1756 the Indians continued, at intervals, their incursions. The winter after Franklin left the Lehigh Valley the fort he had built at Gnadenhutten was attacked while the garrison were out skating, the village again burned, and many of the people captured or killed. Indeed, the invasions of the Indians continued off and on for the next three years. Men were waylaid as they passed along the roads or trails, women killed as they went to visit the sick, children shot as they drove the cows home at evening, and many captives, of all ages and sexes, carried to Canada or to the wilderness of the Ohio.

The colony's means for protecting itself was very slight. Accustomed to a long peace of seventy years, the people were not in the habit of organizing themselves for such a serious military undertaking as the protection of two hundred miles of frontier. The few slight attempts they had made in the past had been directed to the protection of the river from privateers, and the troops raised in these few attempts never saw any actual service.

The soldiery that the province might be supposed to have for its aid consisted of three classes, — the regulars, the provincials, and the rangers. The regulars had now been withdrawn to protect New England and New York. In the end they proved to be the only force that could permanently quiet the Indians, because they were the only force that could invade the Indian country and fight the savage on his own ground. The expedition they made in 1758, under General Forbes, checked the Indian atrocities for two years; and when they broke out again at the time of Pontiac's con-

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spiracy, they were again stopped by the regulars under
Bouquet.

"The provincials" was a name given at that time to all colonial militia. In Pennsylvania they were often called the "Associators." They were recruited by the governor without any Act of Assembly, under that clause in the Charter which gave Penn and his heirs the right to levy, muster, and train soldiers, and command them with the powers of a captain-general. While Franklin's Quaker militia law lasted, they were recruited under it, and, in any event, were paid out of the colonial treasury, and subject to the orders of the governors. But they were merely an assistance to the regulars, and could not of themselves withstand the French and Indians.

The rangers were not much better. They were merely volunteer bands of frontiersmen who chose their own officers, adopted their own rules, and would have laughed at any attempt of the governor to control them. Though accustomed to hunting, they knew little or nothing of Indian fighting, but they gradually learned it in the course of years. As the provincials wasted their energies by garrisoning forts instead of fighting the Indian on his own ground, so the ranger dissipated his strength by acting independently, and in small parties here and there.

Besides the militia law, another attempt at defence was made in the beginning of 1756. A chain of forts was erected, at a cost of £85,000, all along the frontier, beginning at the Delaware River, near Easton, extending westward to the forks of the Susquehanna, where Fort Augusta stood, near the present site of

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Sunbury, and thence, in a southwest direction, to the present Fulton County, on the Maryland boundary. The distance was in all about two hundred miles. This was, however, only the general line of the frontier; for the forts were so scattered and irregularly placed that, in reality, the line of defence was a great deal more than two hundred miles.

The forts were at first about seventeen in number, placed near the principal passes. Beginning at the Delaware, near Easton, there were Depui's, Lehigh, Allen, Everit, Williams, Henry, Swatara, Hunter, Halifax, and Augusta, which completed the line to the Susquehanna. West of the Susquehanna there were Louther, Morris, Franklin, Granville, Shirley, Littleton, and Loudon, which brought the line to the Maryland boundary. Others were added from time to time until, within a few years, there were about fifty. The larger ones were each garrisoned by about fifty or seventy-five men, who could merely defend their stockade and make no expeditions outside of it. Many of the worst Indian atrocities were committed forty or fifty miles within the line. In Indian warfare, forts were valuable chiefly as places of refuge for settlers and their families, in case of an attack on their homes or as starting-points for scouting-parties and expeditions. But forts had no effect in really subduing the savages or in securing the continued safety of the settlers, because the Indians simply walked by or around them, and entered the district within pretty much as they pleased.

The best method of colonial Indian warfare was that adopted by Bacon, in Virginia, in the previous century, and by Major Rogers and his rangers, in New Hamp-

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shire; namely, to be continually beating up the Indian hiding-places, cutting off their stragglers, attacking them on their own ground, and driving them from point to point, so as to prevent the maturing of plans, and that most fatal of all Indian tactics, the gradual creeping through the grass, and from tree to tree, until a village or farm was surrounded. Little or nothing of this sort could at first be done in Pennsylvania, because such work required a large and regularly organized force, which would scout and range the woods every week and month of the year, over the whole vast range of frontier.

The forts, however, had to be built, and were the first steps in a system of defence. But their chief value was as starting-points for more aggressive measures, and the failure to institute these aggressive measures was the weak point in the province's method of warfare. From the time of Braddock's defeat, in the summer of 1755, until the following summer of 1756, everything was weakly defensive. There were no attacks upon the Indians; and on one occasion, in April, 1756, when some of the people met them at Sideling Hill, the white men were badly defeated, and in the following July the Indians stormed and captured Fort Granville.

A large party of the soldiery of Pennsylvania, which might have been something of a guard to her frontier, were drawn away to protect the frontiers of New England and New York, and carry the invasion into Canada. Early in 1756 a meeting of the colonial governors decided that ten thousand men were needed for an expedition against Niagara as well as Ticonde-

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roga, Crown Point, and other places. Pennsylvania's quota for this was fifteen hundred men. The province had already sent a great number of recruits to these northern expeditions, — in fact, rather more than her share; for although a Quaker community, troops were easily raised, because there was in the province a great number of redemptioners, or indented servants, as they were called, and these were always glad to join an army and escape their servitude. Their masters, of course, suffered by their absence, and their claims for payment for this loss were continually troubling the Assembly.

Whatever we may think of the insufficiency of the fort system, we must give the Assembly credit for having accomplished a great deal in the way of defence in spite of their governor, and in spite of the large numbers of men and the large sums of money they were sending to protect New England. The chain of forts was built and garrisoned; and Governor Morris thought so well of it that he said it was amply sufficient to defend the province, and that the Assembly should devote their energies to the northern campaign against Canada. The Assembly declared that their frontier was in a better state of defence than that of any other colony on the continent. It certainly seems to have been at least as well protected as the frontiers of Maryland and Virginia; for the governors of those two provinces, in the spring of 1756, applied to Pennsylvania for assistance, complaining bitterly of their defenceless condition with the enemy pressing in upon them as far as Winchester.¹

¹ Franklin's Historical Review, 334; Votes of Assembly, iv. 560, 561.

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Instead of being backward in the war, as Parkman and other writers have insisted, Pennsylvania was fighting her own battles and those of the other colonies as well. Parkman's violent prejudice against every colony outside of New England leads him into the most absurd abuse of Pennsylvania. Whenever the Assembly will not instantly yield to the demands of the governor, he calls it petty and stupid. The preservation of local rights he entirely ignores; and he seems never to have read the records of Pennsylvania on this question, or, if he read, was unable to understand them.

The contemporary opinion of those times is very complimentary to the efforts of Pennsylvania. Braddock fully appreciated them; and when Braddock gave praise and refrained from abuse, we may be sure that the praise was deserved. He wrote to Franklin that Pennsylvania had done more for him than any of the other colonies; that Virginia and Maryland promised everything and performed nothing, while Pennsylvania promised nothing and performed everything.¹ Commodore Spry, writing in August, 1756, thanks the Assembly for the large number of sailors sent to his fleet at the province's expense, and says, "'T is impossible to conceive how much I am obliged."²

General Shirley, before he departed for Europe, sent a letter to the Pennsylvania Assembly, thanking them for their valuable services toward his expeditions on two occasions; and the Assembly voted him a reply, in which they thanked him for his justice, which they

¹ Pennsylvania Magazine of History, xvii. 272.

² Franklin's Historical Review, 380; Votes of Assembly, iv. 612.

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said they had frequently sought in vain in others, from whom they had a right to expect it. It seems to have been a common opinion, and certainly was the opinion of the Assembly, that the province had afforded more free recruits to the king's forces than any other colony. Men had been raised for Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, for Halket's and Dunbar's, for the New York and Carolina Independent Companies, for Nova Scotia, and even for the West Indies.¹

In the appendix to his "Historical Review of Pennsylvania," Franklin has given us an itemized statement of the money expended on the war by Pennsylvania, from 1754 to 1758, and the sum total is £327,851 currency, or £218,567 sterling, certainly a handsome contribution from a Quaker Assembly, representing a population of only about two hundred thousand souls.

It should also be remembered that the Assembly could not, as a legislative body, carry on the war. They could only vote money and supplies, and pass general laws. For executing their laws and the conduct of campaigns, they were obliged to rely on the governor; and in 1757 we find the Assembly upbraiding the governor because, although they had furnished him with money, he was not pushing offensive operations, and was allowing the men to remain idle in the forts when they might have been invading the country of the enemy.

Before he closed his administration in the summer of 1756, Governor Morris gave the Assembly another check, which was not likely to assist campaigns. He showed his hand, or rather the hand of the proprietors

¹ Franklin's Historical Review, 322.

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and the Privy Council, who were supporting him in his attempts on the liberties of the province. The excise on liquors which had been imposed for ten years was about to expire ; but when a bill for its renewal was sent to the governor, he refused to accept it unless there was an amendment giving him the joint power with the Assembly in disposing of the proceeds. He frankly told the Assembly that he had an instruction forbidding him to assent to any law raising money, unless he or the proprietors could have a hand in disbursing it.

This was what every one had long suspected, and now the secret was out. This instruction had been the real cause of all the quarrels with the Assembly, all the opposition to money bills to assist the war, and all the excuses and shifting of years. To gradually worry the Assembly into a precedent for giving the proprietor power over their money after they had raised it had been the prime object ; and with a governor bound by a penal bond, under such an instruction, the province could not be protected, or the king served, or any interest of the community maintained, unless the people were willing to part with the rights and liberties they had spent nearly a century in establishing.

CHAPTER XII

THE INDIANS CHECKED

As the year 1756 moved on, efforts were made to do something more decisive against the enemy than look at them through the port-holes of forts. Among the first to move were the Quakers, who seized the opportunity of a situation of affairs which seemed to incline the Delawares and Shawanees to make a treaty of peace.

These two tribes had been alienated and turned into terrible enemies by no fault of the Quakers or the Assembly, but by the iniquity of the proprietors' Walking Purchase, the Albany Deed of 1754, and the gradual invasion of their lands by the frontiersman. They had joined the western tribes, and, by their knowledge of localities in Pennsylvania, were acting as guides, and assisting the French in the most effective manner. If they could be drawn away from the French and other Indians, the result would be as good as a decisive battle. The governor had hesitated to declare war against them because it was hoped that the Six Nations might still have some control over them. The Quakers upheld him in this, and urged him, to the last moment, to withhold the declaration. But it was finally made, and war formally declared, in April, 1756, against the two tribes, and rewards offered to the few Indians that remained friendly for scalps and

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prisoners. The effect of this offer was that any prisoners that were taken were immediately killed, for the prisoner was worth no more than his scalp, and the scalp was easier to transport. Little was accomplished, however, for most of the friendly Indians took alarm, and moved away to join the Six Nations.

The Six Nations had already been asked to use their influence to restrain the Delawares and the Shawanese. When they started on this undertaking they were ably assisted by the Quakers, some of whom had the principal Delaware chiefs to dine with them in Philadelphia, treating them as equals and friends, and with the assistance of Weiser, the interpreter, urging them to assist in procuring peace. The governor and the Assembly left the whole matter in the hands of the Six Nations and the Quakers, and very soon they had accomplished their purpose. The Delawares and the Shawanese agreed to refrain from further hostilities; the governor, by proclamation, suspended the war against them, and the peace was confirmed by a treaty held at Easton during the last days of July, 1756.

This successful effort on the part of the Quakers has been often sneered at as mere weakness and an excuse for avoiding actual hostilities, but in the condition of the colonies at that time it was by far the best thing that could be done, and, combined with the military operations that followed, was of decided assistance in checking the French invasions. The colony was doing all it could in a hostile way. It was sending men and money to protect New England and New York, and with the men and means that were left was attempting to protect its own frontier. There was money in the

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treasury to pay the troops; and troops were constantly moving to the frontier to garrison the forts, and yet, with all this, the frontier was so large and wild that little was accomplished. To draw away, therefore, from the French interest the two tribes that were most bitter and earnest in revenging themselves on the province, and who were acting as guides to the others, was, whatever may have been the motives for it, a decided benefit, even from the point of view of those who advocated war.

While the treaty that accomplished this result was nearing its final confirmation in July, 1756, plans were laid for an expedition of provincial troops, which should be actively hostile, and change the defensive policy of hiding in forts. The principal strongholds of the Indians in Pennsylvania were Logstown, on the Ohio, a few miles below Fort Du Quesne, and Kittanning, or Atiqué, as the French called it, about forty miles to the northeast, on the Allegheny. At these places they stored their plunder and kept their prisoners, and at Kittanning they received supplies of arms and ammunition for their expeditions. Kittanning seems also to have been the principal residence of the famous chief, Captain Jacobs, and at times of Shingas. It was a convenient place for forays. It was further east than Fort Du Quesne and nearer to the English settlements. The valley of the Kiskiminetas River, or the ridge that lay north of it, could be followed up to the head-waters of that stream, whence the distance across the mountains to the head-waters of the Juniata was not far, and the Juniata Valley was a natural highway to the Susquehanna.

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It was decided to attack this village of Kittanning and wipe it out; and the man selected for the purpose was Col. John Armstrong, a Scotch-Irishman of Carlisle, — the first real soldier the province had produced, and the beginning of the long line of Pennsylvania's distinguished generals.

By the middle of August Armstrong had begun his preparations, and soon collected his force of about three hundred men on the Juniata, at Fort Shirley, which was well on the way to his destination. The whole expedition had been kept a profound secret, and was exceedingly well managed in all its details. The men were collected in a way that excited no surprise, and were probably supposed, by most people, to be intended for the usual garrison duty in the forts. An advance party was sent out from Fort Shirley, and Armstrong followed them, with the main body, on the 30th of August. They were lucky enough to make their entire march unobserved. The advance guard came upon the tracks of two Indians, and found where they had killed a bear; but the tracks were twenty-four hours old, and the Indians gone on ahead. If the guard had marched a day earlier they might have been discovered by these Indians, and the whole expedition frustrated.

Cheered by his good fortune, Armstrong pressed on, and in five days was within fifty miles of Kittanning. He sent a party to reconnoitre the town, and on the evening of the 7th of September had his force within six miles of it. He intended to dispose his men round the town in the moonlight and attack at daybreak. But about nine or ten o'clock in the evening his guides told him that there was a fire by the roadside, just ahead,

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and two or three Indians sitting around it. He scarcely knew what to do. It was too much risk to attempt to cut off these Indians, for if a single one of them escaped it would be fatal, and, luckily, he did not attempt it. Leaving a party to watch, with orders to attack them at daybreak, he took a circuitous course with the rest of his men, and reached the cornfield on the edge of the village.

It was a warm summer night. The Indians were dancing, beating their drums, and whooping. They were in the full enjoyment of savage happiness,—plenty of ammunition; plenty of provisions, hunting excursions, and excursions for scalps; and this had now continued for nearly two years. They had received powder and ball enough from the French to last them ten years, and during that time they could carry on the war as they pleased against the whites, who would never dare to cross the mountains. As they grew tired of the dance, some retired to their houses, and others lighted fires in the cornfield to drive away the gnats, while they were composing themselves to sleep beneath the stars. One young buck whistled for his squaw within a few yards of Armstrong, and fired off his gun and cleaned it before lying down. For hours the provincials lay crouched upon the ground among the corn, listening to these strange sounds. But fatigue soon overcame the novelty of their situation, and when Armstrong thought it time for the attack he found most of his men asleep.

Just at daybreak he aroused them; and having given one division twenty minutes to get near the main part

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of the town, he began the attack in the cornfield. Almost at the first gun Captain Jacobs gave the war-whoop, and cried out that the white men had come, and there would be scalps enough. But his defence was weak. His forces were scattered and soon driven from the cornfield to make a last stand in the houses. Jacobs' house was able to return a hot fire, and a ball from it wounded Armstrong in the shoulder. The sharp-shooting of the Indians was severe, and they seem to have killed and wounded enough of the white men to fully equal their own losses. But the houses were set on fire, Captain Jacobs was shot, and tumbled to the ground in attempting to escape from his attic window, and soon after his house blew up. As the flames spread among the thirty houses, the loaded guns stored in them exploded; and as the fire reached barrel after barrel of powder, the blazing timbers were sent flying in the air. The enemy soon took refuge in the woods, and the victory was complete.

No attempt was made to follow them, nor would it have been safe; and now that their work was done, the provincials were anxious to escape. They were farther within the lion's mouth than they liked. They would not even wait to destroy the cornfield. It shows what terror the Indian skill at bushwhacking inspired, that these men, who had boldly penetrated into the heart of the enemy's country and destroyed a town, were in almost as much of a panic as Braddock's men had felt to get back by the road they had come. By a lucky surprise they had succeeded in scattering the Indians for a few hours, and they needed all of those hours to get a start on their return.

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They soon realized how fortunate they had been. The Indians were to have started in force the next day to take Fort Shirley; and the three that Armstrong had found, the previous evening, sitting by the fire, were the advance-guard, which really consisted of twenty-four instead of three. When the lieutenant and his twelve men, who had been left to watch the three, attacked them in the morning, they suddenly found themselves overwhelmingly outnumbered, and after fighting for an hour were put to flight, and the lieutenant killed.

The discovery of this misadventure quickened the retreat, which was probably none too soon, for the Indians began almost immediately to harass the flanks and rear. But the provincials escaped across the mountains, bringing with them eleven of the white prisoners they had found in the village, but losing on the march more than half of the dozen scalps they had secured. They had lost seventeen killed, thirteen wounded, and nineteen missing, which was probably rather more than the loss of the Indians.

But the Indians were very much demoralized. They refrained for some time from all incursions on the frontier, and refused to establish themselves again east of Fort Du Quesne. The expedition was in every respect most opportune. The good effects of it were soon so apparent that many of the settlers who had been driven east returned to cultivate their farms.

But Dumas, the French commander at Fort Du Quesne, reported the battle to his government as a very trifling affair. Atiqué, he said, had been attacked by General Wachinton, with three or four hundred men

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on horseback. The Indians fled; but five or six Frenchmen held the English at bay until the Indians returned and routed them. They were not pursued because of the loss of several barrels of powder which were accidentally exploded in the action. The Indians, he said, had also lost, by fire, some merchandise and supplies which should be replaced.

CHAPTER XIII

THE VIOLENCE OF PARTY SPIRIT

THE plans for Armstrong's expedition had been laid during Morris' administration, and that evil governor may perhaps deserve some credit for them. But he retired from office before they were carried out, and they were turned over to his successor, William Denny, on his arrival in the province, August 20, 1756. Morris had been governor a little less than two years, and in that short time had given more trouble than any other deputy that had been appointed. The change to Denny was, however, as Franklin said, only a change of devils; and, indeed, it was difficult for a governor to be anything but a devil, tied down, as he was, by his bond and the instructions of the proprietors.

But still the people and the Assembly hoped for better things, and were willing to believe that Denny would be very different from his predecessor. They gave him every encouragement. The city corporation gave him a grand public entertainment; and the Assembly gave him a *fête* at the State-house. He was petted and congratulated; and to show that they were sincere, he was given £600 to soften his heart.

The money and the *fête* were wasted. To save time, and in the hope of a frank understanding from the beginning, the Assembly immediately asked him to

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show them his instructions. This he did without the slightest hesitation, for the proprietors had now given up all secrecy, and were determined openly to force the Assembly to their purpose. The instructions contained just what might have been expected. The governor was forbidden to assent to any money bill unless the money to be raised was specially appropriated to some particular object, or was to be at the disposal of the governor and Assembly jointly. In this way the proprietors hoped to break down the Assembly's privilege of exclusive control of money bills. Other parts of the instructions attempted to exempt the proprietary lands from taxation, and to have the quit-rents paid in sterling instead of Pennsylvania currency.

The attack of the proprietors on the province was well timed, for the English forces had been everywhere defeated by the French, and except for the slight relief Pennsylvania and Virginia had received from the battle of Kittanning, the prospects were very gloomy. The Assembly dared not remain inactive; and after passing resolutions protesting against the attempts of the proprietors, and repeating the old arguments against their tyranny, they resolved that if they adhered to their rights the province would be abandoned to the enemy and lost to the crown. They resolved to waive their rights for the present, in the hope that they might regain them again in the future, and for this they trusted to the justice of the king and the British Parliament. They passed a bill for £30,000 to be redeemed from the excise in ten years, the balance of which, after paying certain debts, was to be applied jointly by the governor and the House. The governor

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signed this Act, and the proprietors, for the time, had triumphed.

The Assembly were to suffer another mortification and defeat. The proprietary party in the colony was comparatively small, and scarcely represented at all in the Assembly, but capable of making much trouble by writing letters to England and appealing to the Privy Council. This party was composed, largely, of the Church of England people, who were in control of the college; and the college's provost, young William Smith, became the party leader. Petitions had been sent to the king representing the province in a defenceless state because of the Quaker government, and calling on the king to interpose and take the government from the Quakers. Smith also wrote two letters, afterward published as pamphlets, which aroused great indignation among the Quakers.

He was then only twenty-nine years old, an able and brilliant writer, but disposed to violent and exaggerated statements. In his first letter or pamphlet he declared that the French occupation of the Ohio, Braddock's defeat, and all the Indian massacres were entirely due to the Quakers, and would not have happened if other people had been in charge of the government. The Germans, he said, were just as bad, and had supported the Quakers. The Quaker Assembly had entirely too much power; its rights should be abridged, and the governor given more control of it.

In his second pamphlet he made sport of the Quaker religious meetings, calling them political cabals, and gave currency to the assertion that some Quaker member of the Assembly had said that the Indians had

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killed only a few Scotch-Irish, who could well enough be spared. He insinuated that the Quakers had some secret agreement or understanding with the Indians. The Quaker religion, he said, being a false one, was at the root of all the evil, and should be extirpated from the face of the earth. He even went so far as to say that there were several ways of getting rid of the Quakers, — one, by driving them from their control of the Assembly, and the other, by cutting their throats.

This reckless attack on the liberties of the colony, by a man who was living among them, and who professed to be conducting the chief seat of learning in the province, was rather more than could be endured. The Assembly voted Smith's letters libellous, and ordered his arrest. He is said to have been brought before them, and questioned, but allowed, on this occasion, to go unpunished. But his pamphlets and the petition to the king soon had an effect. The Privy Council appointed a day to hear all parties. The petitioners were represented by their counsel, and the Assembly by theirs. The result was altogether against the Assembly. The committee of the Privy Council, after condemning the conduct of the province during the war, concluded by saying that the province would never be protected, and there was no hope for measures of a different character while the country was ruled by a sect numbering scarcely a sixth part of all the inhabitants, with principles avowedly against military service. Such people should not be allowed to hold offices of trust and profit, or to sit in a legislative body without their allegiance being secured by the sanction of an oath.

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Beyond the indignation and anger aroused by this successful appeal of the proprietary party, it had no effect on the province except to bring about the resignation from the Assembly of four Quakers, — Mahlon Kirkbride, William Hoge, Peter Dicks, and Nathaniel Pennock, — and to induce the Assembly to pass a stricter militia law. A few months before, five other Quaker members, finding they had to vote too often for war, had resigned. But the places of all these were quickly filled, and apparently by Quakers, who found no difficulty in serving.

Some of the modern Quaker writers insist that their people took no active part in the French and Indian Wars; and that the withdrawal of their society from political power in Pennsylvania dates from the beginning of the Seven Years' War. For seventy years, they say, while under their control, the province enjoyed perfect peace and was without guns or forts. Peace only failed when they lost control, and were in the decided minority. Others, knowing that such a statement is untrue, insist that those who composed the majority of the legislature during the war were not true Quakers; and Bowden, in his "History of the Friends in America" (vol. ii. p. 281), says, "But few of our members of any religious standing ever after formed part of the local legislature of Pennsylvania."

Even this cautious statement admits that there were some Quakers of religious standing still in the legislature. Of course the very strict Quakers who still held to the letter of their opposition to war, thought that all the others were not in good standing. But those others, who steadily voted for war supplies, had

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all the characteristics of Quakers, considered themselves such, and were so regarded. There is no question that at that time a large part of the society, having been long accustomed to political power, and having become prosperous and rich, had acquired a strong tincture of the world, and the more strict members were utterly unable to restrain them.

The compulsory militia law seems to have been passed by the Quaker Assembly with the full intention of showing the British government that they were ready to do everything in their power to assist the war against France. But even if it had not been vetoed by the governor, and had gone into operation, matters would have been very little improved, for the trouble was not so much in getting soldiers as in getting arms and ammunition. About fourteen hundred men, costing the province over £64,000 a year, were distributed among the forts; and though in the beginning they had had good muskets, most of them were now out of order, and there were no means of repairing them or getting others. In Conrad Weiser's battalion more than three-quarters of the guns were more or less out of repair. Flints were scarce and inferior, and the supply of ammunition for the few cannon in the forts very limited. The Assembly had attempted to procure a supply of arms from England, but here, again, they were checked, for the home government was itself limited, and none could be procured. But the proprietors, be it said to their credit, came to the assistance of the colony, and sent over a few brass cannon and a small supply of fusees and muskets.

The year 1757 was a very gloomy one, not only in

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the colonies, but in England, and was well described by Lord Chesterfield when he said, "I never saw so dreadful a time." Nothing was wanting but a few more soldiers to enable the French to pass on down the Mississippi and secure their line to New Orleans, or fall upon the rear of the colonies and conquer them. The Indians were becoming more and more convinced that the French were the greater nation, and that they had done right in joining them. The Pennsylvania Assembly felt compelled to vote £100,000, the largest single grant they had ever made. It was to be raised by a general tax, and the tax was made to include the proprietary estate. The governor objected; and the Assembly, influenced by the awful necessities of the war and the persuasions of Lord Loudon, yielded, and passed the bill in February, 1757, without taxing the estates.

But though they yielded on this point, they were determined to carry on the conflict in another way, and transfer the scene of it to England. There they could attack the proprietors directly and appeal to the justice of the king and Parliament. They appointed two commissioners to go to England for this purpose,—Norris and Franklin,—and Norris being detained by ill health, Franklin started alone.

The good effects of the battle of Kittanning had now worn away. They had lasted only about six months; and, though the Quaker treaty still kept the Delawares and Shawanees friendly, the western tribes were unrestrained, and their ravages on the frontiers of Pennsylvania again began.

There were no notable massacres, but the old stealthy

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creeping methods were again adopted, — the red men passing in between the forts, which were not of the slightest protection. All through the spring and summer of 1757 small scalping-parties ranged the woods, and appeared suddenly at clearings and farms. The people were now better armed, and had begun to learn something of Indian fighting. As they tilled their fields, parties of soldiers from the garrison of the nearest fort came out and guarded them; and when no soldiers could be obtained, they lashed a musket to their plough, and were guarded by their stalwart sons or neighbors. Occasionally an Indian was killed, and occasionally some settlers maintained their ground, fighting, Indian fashion, from behind logs and trees. There was a decided improvement in the methods of resistance; for the people were now aroused from their long sleep of peace. Instead of keeping close to their forts, some of the garrisons now sent detachments to range the woods and break up the Indian hiding-places; and ranging parties were formed among the farmers and frontiersmen.

But the Indians had much the best of it. They boasted that for every loss among their own number there were at least ten white scalps hanging in smoky wigwams. They did more killing, for they were always at it. They picked off the people as they moved about, shooting a woman here as she went to a neighbor's, a child there as he wandered a few steps too far from the cabin, a man as he worked in the field and unconsciously came too near the fringe of the forest. They attacked houses in the night; and the terror they inspired, and the poverty and suffering they brought

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upon the people, who were driven from their homes, were even worse than their murders.

The petitions, coming from all parts of the country at that time, and still to be found among the "Archives" and "Records," are extremely interesting, and tell the story with considerable vividness. Some of them are signed with the English names of Presbyterians, and others with the unpronounceable names of the Pennsylvania Dutch. They all have the same burden: a raid, murders, scalps; send us assistance. Among them are also to be found the reports of the provincial officers, also very much alike: an attack, well resisted, several of us killed and wounded, one Indian killed; followed the trail for a short distance next morning, and found moccasin tracks, with the narrow-toed shoe-marks of a Frenchman.

The Indians came in closer that year than ever before, even to within thirty miles of Philadelphia; for the outermost settlers, on whom they had previously preyed, were mostly driven in, and were living in the poor houses, or as best they could in the more settled parts of the province. The boundaries of Pennsylvania were evidently contracting; and if the French war continued much longer, the people would be all crowded against the Delaware and conquered.

As the success of the French became more and more evident, and the gloom and despondency of the colonists deeper and deeper, in this year, 1757, the proprietary party and the Churchmen renewed their attacks on the Quakers and the Assembly, which they charged with all the disasters. The Assembly, goaded by every kind of taunt, were in a state of high irritation. They

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longed for an opportunity to revenge themselves, and it soon came.

There was a Churchman and member of the proprietary party who at this time began to make himself very obnoxious. This was "William Moore, Esq., of Moore Hall," as he called himself. He was Judge of the Common Pleas of Chester County, and had a pleasant little country-seat near the banks of the Schuylkill. He lies buried under the doorway of St. David's Church at Radnor, where a marble slab recounts the long list of his offices and virtues. He was a bold, outspoken man, a great Churchman, with a deep contempt for the Quakers, and a desire to live the life of an English magistrate and country gentleman who scolded everybody and had everything his own way. He had for some time given much offence by his open abuse of the Quakers on the subject of warfare, and soon he was accused of other offences. Numerous petitions were presented to the Assembly, charging him with gross misconduct and injustice in his office of judge; and the Assembly saw their chance.

In August, 1757, they sent him a copy of the charges against him, and called him before them to answer for his misdeeds. He refused to appear, and denied their authority to try him. They investigated the charges against him, and sent a memorial to the governor asking that he be removed from his office of judge. The memorial was printed in the newspapers, and Moore replied to it in language which certainly did not soothe the Assembly. Both the memorial and Moore's reply to it were published in the "Pennsylvania Gazette;"

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and Provost Smith, wishing the Germans to see Moore's reply, had it published in a German newspaper which he and some others were conducting. This act of Smith's seems like a trivial offence, but the Germans were the main support of the Quakers in politics, and kept them in power. The Assembly had an old grudge against Smith, and when they met in January, 1758, had both him and Moore arrested for libel.

Moore defended himself with much ability, refused to be tried, and was sentenced to the common jail for contempt, misconduct as a judge, and publishing a libel on the Assembly; and the sheriff was ordered to pay no attention to any writs of *habeas corpus* that should be issued for his relief.

Smith was then brought before the House for trial, and his strong personality and ability soon made an interesting scene. He was accused of aiding in the publication of the libel by Moore. He denied his guilt. The address by Moore, if a libel at all, had been written against a former house, which was not now in being. But the address, he said, was not at all libellous, for every subject had the right to arraign the conduct of officers when they swerved from their duty. The meanest plebeian in Rome could impeach a consul; and the best check which the British nation had imposed upon those clothed with power was the right of citizens freely to animadvert upon their conduct. If the Assembly could go so far as to call a man to account for what he had said about a house lately dissolved, they might, by the same rule, call him to account for censuring a house that had been in being a century ago, and by this means tie up the tongues and pens of

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men forever, sanctify the most iniquitous measures, and make it impossible even to write the history of former times.

He felt, he said, that he was standing for the liberty of the press; that if he had done anything, it was as the editor of a newspaper in which he had been exercising his best judgment. But other papers had printed the address; and it had been printed by the Assembly's own printer by the advice of several members of the House. Moreover, he said, the Assembly had no right to try him, because they were his accusers, and unfit to be his judges.

Having allowed Smith to withdraw for a time, the House called him in again, and told him that they would hear no arguments calling in question their jurisdiction to try him, and that they had appointed the Tuesday following to begin his trial, and that he might have the assistance of counsel. When the day arrived, Smith found that the Assembly had completely headed off any defence he might make. They would hear no arguments questioning their jurisdiction, and none denying that Moore's address was a libel. The trial was a farce. A resolution was passed, finding him guilty; and the Speaker informed him that he was to be committed to the county jail until he should make satisfaction to the House.

Smith then arose, and, after announcing that he would appeal to the king, declared, with much indignation, that there had been no evidence sufficient to convict him, that others equally culpable had been allowed to escape while he had been singled out as the special object of vengeance. Then drawing himself to his full

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height, and striking his breast with his hand, he said, with great vehemence and dignity:—

“Mr. Speaker, I cannot make acknowledgments or express contrition. No punishment which this Assembly can inflict upon me would be half as terrible to me, as suffering my tongue to give my heart the lie.”

The House was crowded with Smith’s friends and members of the proprietary party, who were delighted with this dramatic defiance of the Assembly, and immediately set up a storm of applause. The House, determined to assert its dignity, ordered the doors closed and the arrest of some of the applauders; and among those taken were several officers of the crown, and several familiar Philadelphia names, like Willing, Wallace, and Peters. The punishments for this outburst were prosecuted with considerable vigor. Arrests were again made on the day following; and the applauders were obliged to prove clearly their innocence, or apologize and pay a fine.

As in Moore’s case, the sheriff was ordered to pay no attention to any writs of *habeas corpus*. But Smith was determined to carry on his contest, and informed the House by letter that, though they had refused his appeal to the crown, they could not destroy his constitutional right to an appeal, and he was determined to prosecute it. Meantime he used all honorable means to attain his liberty. He wrote to Chief Justice Allen, a very ardent member of the proprietary party, asking for a writ of *habeas corpus*, and also to the governor; but neither of them were able to assist him. There was nothing left for him but to prosecute his

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appeal to the crown, and meantime he had to stay in prison, where he remained for eleven weeks.

In a letter he wrote to the Bishop of London, he describes himself as crowded with visitors from morning to night, and it appears that he conducted all his business and carried on the affairs of the college from his cell. The trustees of the college passed a resolution, which appears on their minutes of Feb. 4, 1758. The Assembly of the province, they said, having taken their provost into custody, and a great inconvenience arising thence, it is ordered that "his classes should attend him at the usual hours, in the place of his present confinement."

He lived in this way until the 11th of April, when, on the adjournment of the Assembly, he was released by order of the Supreme Court. When the Assembly met again, new warrants were issued for his arrest, but they were not executed. At the meeting of the Assembly, however, in September, 1758, he was again arrested and kept in confinement during the whole session of the House. He also had a warrant issued for him at the meeting of the next Assembly; but it appears never to have been executed, and nothing more was done against him.

Meantime, among the numerous visitors to the prison was Miss Rebecca Moore, who came to see and comfort her father, and who may possibly have been at some of the numerous levees that appear to have been held in the provost's cell. Smith was touched by her beauty and her devotion to her father, and in June, during one of his respites from prison, was married to her in her father's house, Moore Hall, on the Schuyl-

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kill. Smith, like other Philadelphians of that time, had already secured a country-seat of his own near the Falls of Schuylkill; and in this year of his marriage he built himself a mansion there, which still stands, and is now included within Fairmount Park.

William Moore, the father of his bride, was brought up for trial before the governor on the 24th of August, 1758, and, in spite of the violent attacks of the Assembly, acquitted of all blame, and allowed to retain his office.

Smith's means of obtaining justification were longer and more difficult. He sent his appeal to England, and thither he sailed in December, 1758. His arrival created quite a little stir in the circle of learned men and clergy in which he moved; and they were entirely in sympathy with him, as an accomplished and distinguished young man, who had been martyred and persecuted by an Assembly of Quaker fanatics, who would not fight the French. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Oxford, and also from Aberdeen, and was fêted and encouraged wherever he went, and his appeal to the king was most successful.

It was argued before the Committee of Trade and Plantations of the Privy Council, and both the Assembly and Provost Smith were represented by lawyers. The attorney-general also appeared on behalf of the crown. The committee prepared a long report of the case, which is still to be found among their records. They recommended a decision in the provost's favor, and that a proper warning should be sent to the Assembly and Governor of Pennsylvania. The Privy Council gave judgment, and prepared the warning. The

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Assembly were told that their unwarrantable behavior had aroused the high displeasure of his Majesty; that they had assumed to themselves powers which did not belong to them, which invaded his Majesty's prerogative as well as the liberties of the subject; and the governor was required, for the future, to take the utmost care and use all means to support the laws and his Majesty's prerogative against such encroachments. The refusal of the writ of *habeas corpus* to Smith was severely reprobated, and it was ordered that hereafter, in all cases in Pennsylvania, his Majesty's writs should issue freely, according to law, and that no persons whatsoever should presume to disobey them.

The provost's success in his appeal was well deserved. He had been treated by the Assembly in a manner most unlawful and outrageous, and the rebuke administered by the Privy Council was eminently proper; but it was barren of any political results. The Quakers, supported by the Germans, or, in other words, the majority of the people, continued to control the Assembly and conduct warlike operations as before, and it was well they did. Nothing could have been gained by a change, even if the Quakers and Germans had all been disfranchised, and the provost and the minority party put in power. All had been done that could be done; and no greater number of men and no greater number of pounds sterling could have been forced from the colony. Nor could any change in political parties have altered the natural difficulties of the wild, mountainous frontier.

CHAPTER XIV

THE END OF THE WAR

THE gloom and disasters of the year 1757 were dissipated by the rise to power of a brilliant and wonderful man who has not unjustly been described as the creator of modern England. William Pitt had been made prime minister in June, 1757, and by the close of the year a new order of things began.

The genius of this great man for organizing soon restored the spirit and energy of the colonies. Instead of making exacting and irritating demands upon them, telling them how many men each was to furnish, and at the same time implying that their best exertions would be almost worthless, he announced that he would send to their assistance a powerful army which would act in concert with their provincial troops; and that each colony should raise as large a force as it was able. Instead of instructing the governor to drag and hector a minutely described quota of men and money from each Assembly, he told the governors to be careful to appoint only popular men as officers, and give them all, from colonel downward, proper commissions, with due regard to seniority and rank. England, he said, would supply the arms, ammunition, provisions, and tents. The only charge on the colonies would be levying their men, clothing them, and paying them their wages.

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The effect of this change of policy on Pennsylvania was immediate. More men were raised than ever before, and twenty-seven hundred were offered to the English commanders. The Assembly voted £100,000, and offered a bounty of five pounds to every recruit, and one pound to the recruiting officer. Wagons were provided, quarters for the soldiers, roads put in repair, and a troop of fifty-eight horse equipped.

The previous plans against the French had contemplated nothing more than driving them back to Canada and preventing them from getting behind the colonies in the Mississippi Valley. But Pitt now aimed at the conquest of Canada itself. The army he assembled for the various expeditions against it amounted in all to about fifty thousand men,—the largest body of troops that had ever been seen in the new world,—and of the fifty thousand about twenty thousand were provincials.

Of the three expeditions into which this force was to be divided, only one concerned Pennsylvania, and that was the expedition against Fort Du Quesne. This expedition was in command of Forbes, a Scotchman of good family who had studied medicine in his youth and afterward purchased a commission in the British army. His force consisted of about seven thousand, of whom Pennsylvania furnished twenty-seven hundred, Virginia sixteen hundred, Maryland two hundred and fifty, North Carolina one hundred and fifty, and the rest were British regulars.

The Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland troops were commanded by Washington, and assembled at Winchester in Virginia. The Pennsylvania provincials

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assembled at Raystown, now Bedford, occupied by Colonel Bouquet with the regulars.

Forbes remained behind in Philadelphia to direct operations, and he intended to join the army as soon as it was prepared to move; but ill-health detained him for a long time in the rear. Bouquet, who was in actual command of the army, was in every respect the equal of Forbes, and one of the most accomplished and attractive officers that had ever been sent to America. He was a French Swiss who had risen in military life on the continent entirely by merit. He had attracted the attention of the Prince of Orange, who secured his services for the Dutch Republic; and when distinguished and well known, he had been persuaded to join the British army. His French susceptibility and quickness made him even more capable than Forbes in adapting himself to the wilderness life and Indian tactics. He became as shrewd and wary as an old trapper, and invented movements among his troops to counteract the art of the Indians.

The expedition was delayed so long by the ill health of Forbes and other causes that it was the 9th of September before it reached Bedford, where it was joined by Washington with the Southern troops. The delay, it was hoped, however, would prove an advantage. The Indian allies of the French, who had collected in great numbers at Fort Du Quesne, would grow tired of waiting; and meantime General Forbes and the Quakers in Philadelphia were trying to bring about a peace with the scattered members of the Delaware and Shawanese tribes that were living in the far West.

The members of these tribes who were living in Pennsylvania had already made a treaty of peace, and

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together with the Six Nations assisted in converting their western brothers. Frederick Post, a devoted Moravian missionary, who had lived among the Indians, was, at the instance of the Friendly Association of the Quakers, sent to the Ohio in July and again in October as an envoy. Unarmed and with only two or three attendants, this heroic man went directly through the woods to the fiercest savages of the West, and preached his mission of peace. His journal of his adventures is most simple and graphic, as well as a striking and interesting picture of the condition of the red men. He openly addressed an assembly of them close to Fort Du Quesne, with French officers standing by and writing down what he said. A reward was offered for his scalp, and parties lay in wait for him; yet he escaped them all, and returned after a most successful mission. The Delawares agreed to join their brethren of Pennsylvania in a treaty of peace.

A great convention was held at Easton in October, lasting from the seventh to the twenty-sixth of the month. The Governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey were present, all the Indian agents and interpreters, four members of the Council, six members of the Assembly, and a number of magistrates and citizens chiefly Quakers. There were about three hundred chiefs with their women and children, representing a long list of tribes and bands,—Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, Conies, Tutiloes, Cheyennes, Delawares, Unamies, Minisinks, Mohicans, and Wappingers. It was a most picturesque as well as important assemblage. The Indians had full scope to make all their complaints

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about ill-treatment and land-stealing. The Minisinks were given a thousand pounds to satisfy their claims in New Jersey, and the proprietary agents of Pennsylvania reconveyed to the savages the land of the last purchase at Albany, which had been unjustly taken. It was a great healing, and went far to restore the conditions that had prevailed before the Walking Purchase and other aggressions which had alienated the red men and drawn them to the side of France.

Post returned to the Ohio with the white wampum belt and its message of friendship. The escort of soldiers that accompanied him as far as the Alleghenies was on its return cut to pieces by members of the very tribes to which the white belt was being carried; but Post pressed on.

His reception was at first so terrible that he had to comfort himself with the thought that God had stopped the mouths of the lions that would have devoured Daniel. The young Indians were possessed of a murdering spirit, drunk and thirsty for vengeance. But in spite of all the efforts of the French officers against it, the treaty was finally accepted. The Delawares and Shawanese were the friends of the English; and in Bouquet's opinion Forbes had by this Quaker treaty struck the blow which decided his final success.

Meantime, while Forbes, with the main body of the army, was moving slowly westward, Bouquet had advanced to Loyalhanna, fifty miles west of Bedford, and sent out Major Grant, of the Highlanders, with thirty-seven officers and eight hundred men, to reconnoitre Fort Du Quesne. He was ordered not to approach too near it, and to avoid discovery and an attack,

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The French were well aware of Forbes' expedition, and their scouts were all through the woods; but Grant and his men eluded them, and on the 14th of September were within eleven miles of Fort Du Quesne. They halted until three in the afternoon, when they marched within two miles of the fort, and left their baggage in charge of a captain and fifty men. It was now dark, and at eleven o'clock at night Grant had his troops within half a mile of the fort on top of a little hill, which long afterward bore his name, and is now in the heart of Pittsburg, and surmounted with the Court-house, one of Richardson's noblest efforts in architecture. He could overlook the fort on the level land below, near the river. Everything was still, and during his whole scout Grant had seen neither Indian nor Frenchman. He concluded that the force in the fort must be very small.

He saw visions of glory and the honors that would be given the man who with a small scouting-party should succeed where Braddock had failed. In spite of his orders, he concluded to make an attack. He sent fifty men to fall upon the Indians who might be sleeping outside of the fort; but they saw none, neither were they challenged by sentinels, and as they returned they set fire to a storehouse, which was soon after extinguished by persons coming out of the fort.

At daybreak, Grant sent Major Lewis back on the road with two hundred men to lie in ambush near their baggage. Two other detachments were placed on other hills facing the fort. Grant himself remained with a few men on the hill he had first reached; and the rest were sent against the fort, with drums beating, in the

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hope of drawing out the enemy into the ambuscades. It seems to have been a complete surprise to the French and Indians; but when they were aroused, they sallied out in great numbers, some of them in their night-clothes. They had evidently grasped the situation as soon as they looked from the fort, for their men were divided into two divisions, the first of which crept along under cover of the river-bank to surround those on the hill, and the other attacked those that had come against the fort.

Captain MacDonald, who led the attack upon the fort, was driven back to the hills; but as soon as he was there, the main body found itself flanked and surrounded by the division of French and Indians that had crept along the river-bank. A fierce battle followed, and it was Braddock's defeat over again. The provincial troops adopted the Indian tactics and fought behind trees; but the regulars stood up after the European manner and were slaughtered. The few that were not killed fled; and the provincials, finding themselves unsupported, were obliged to follow.

Major Lewis, who was near the baggage, hastened forward to Grant's relief, and found himself surrounded in the woods, and shots coming from the trees. His men gave way. The main body soon fell back upon the baggage, and Grant endeavored to rally them. But the enemy were close upon his heels; and as soon as they came in sight, there was another panic, and both regulars and provincials fled. Two hundred and seventy were killed, and forty-two wounded, and both Grant and Lewis captured.

As weeks went by and the French noticed that Bou-

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quet was still camped on the Loyalhanna, and the main body under Forbes had not arrived, they decided to make use of the opportunity. On the 12th of October about twelve hundred French and two hundred Indians under the command of De Vetri made a sudden assault upon Bouquet's camp, but after an action of four hours were compelled to withdraw. Another attack during the night was equally futile. Bouquet was not the man to be caught napping. He lost, however, though acting only on the defensive behind fortifications, sixty-seven killed and wounded.

Toward the end of October Forbes succeeded in joining Bouquet at Loyalhanna; and the season was so far advanced that at a council of war it was decided to abandon the expedition until spring. But a few days afterward three French scouts were caught, and when closely questioned revealed the weak state of the garrison at Fort Du Quesne. The Indians had returned home for their winter hunt, and the number of Frenchmen remaining in the fort was trifling.

Forty-three hundred men were at once selected for an attack, and, adopting the greatest precautions to avoid ambuscades, moved slowly across the mountains. When within twelve miles of the fort, some of the Indians, who had been reconnoitring, came back and reported that the fort was on fire. They had seen a dense cloud of smoke rising and filling the whole river valley. Soon afterward other scouts arrived, who had been close to the fort, and reported that it was burnt and abandoned. Cavalry were immediately sent forward to put out the fire and save the property, and the whole army arrived at the ruins on the 25th of November.

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Fort Du Quesne, of such terrible memory, and such a menace to the colonies for so many years, was nothing but black and smoking timbers. There was no spoil for the conquering army except a few barrels of gunpowder which had not exploded, and a wagon-load of scalping-knives. The cannon and every other article of value had been sunk in the river or removed. The few hundred Frenchmen that had been there had escaped down the Ohio, or up the Allegheny to Presque Isle and Lake Erie. The army had nothing to do but to bury the bodies of Grant's men, which lay scattered and scalped on the hill and in the woods, and after that to go and gather up the whitened bones on Braddock's field and give them some sort of a soldier's grave.

General Forbes left two hundred provincial troops to rebuild the fort and garrison it, and the little settlement of cabins where they were to live meantime he called Pittsburg. The next autumn General Stanwix built Fort Pitt.

The war, so far as Pennsylvania was concerned, was over; and four thousand farmers that had been driven in among the settlements returned to their homes and began again to cultivate the land. Forbes was the idol of the day. But his health was broken; and as soon as the victory relieved him of the strain, he was prostrate. He lingered until the following spring, when death rescued him from further suffering, and he was buried with great honor and ceremony in Christ Church, Philadelphia. He had ended forever the attempt of the French to press downward from Canada into the Mississippi Valley, and the possession by the Anglo-Saxon race of the Great West was assured.

The Estates are Taxed

CHAPTER XV

THE ESTATES ARE TAXED

THE Assembly were now relieved from raising war supplies; and their patriotism in having temporarily yielded to the proprietors was soon rewarded. Franklin had been steadily working at his mission in England to have the proprietors' estates taxed. For two years he could accomplish nothing. The turmoil of the war overwhelmed all other considerations; and the people, high and low, were generally quite ignorant of American affairs, and still more indifferent to them. Provost Smith and the proprietary party in Pennsylvania were busy sending over information, so that so far as public opinion was informed at all, it was informed against Franklin.

As soon as he arrived in the summer of 1757, he had been advised by his friend, Dr. Fothergill, not to make immediate complaint to the government until he had first sought redress from the proprietors. But his appeal to the proprietors having proved of no avail, he directed his energies to the powers with whom in the end the final decision would rest; — the members of the Privy Council. His efforts in this direction were equally unsuccessful. He could obtain no audience with William Pitt, who was too busy with the affairs of the great war that was convulsing all Europe to attend to a trifling dispute in one colony.

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Defeated in this second attempt, he decided to appeal to the public in general. The moment he arrived he had been visited by all the distinguished men in England, who were curious to see the man who had discovered that lightning was electricity, and who had become the most learned of his day by living in a little wilderness colony across the Atlantic. His circle of acquaintances was constantly widening. He was invited to dine at London houses, to visit country-seats; and among the people he met in this way he gradually made known the complaints of his province against her proprietors.

He also seized the first opportunity to make known his grievance in the public press; and an article having appeared in the "General Advertiser" reflecting on the conduct of the Pennsylvania Assembly, his son, who had accompanied him, wrote an article in reply. The reply was copied into other papers and extensively circulated. It defended Pennsylvania from the misrepresentations of Smith and the proprietary party, and showed that the province's frontier had been as well, if not better, defended than the frontiers of other colonies, and would have been still better protected had it not been for proprietary instructions to the governor.

So encouraged was Franklin by the success of this letter of his son that he set this same son to work to write what is now known as the "Historical Review of Pennsylvania," — a book of over four hundred pages, which, though written for partisan purposes, has become an important historical authority. Its principal value, however, consists in its numerous quotations from the messages of governors and the replies of the

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Assembly. For the rest, it is merely an attempt to magnify every dispute to the prejudice of the proprietors and their deputies. The long periods when the colony was well governed, as under Keith and Gordon, are passed over in comparative silence; and unfortunate administrations, like those of Evans and Morris, fill the greater part of the book. But it had a great effect in its day; was not only sold, but distributed freely by Franklin wherever he saw an opportunity, and greatly assisted him in his task.

He had intended when he first came to England to advocate the change of Pennsylvania to a royal province; but the extreme difficulty of this proposal finally induced him to abandon it, and he confined himself to two points only, -- the taxation of the proprietary estates and the relief of the Assembly from proprietary instructions to governors.

The taxation of the estates was his best chance, and on this he had an argument which carried some weight in England. Even Tories who cared but little for the rest of the colony's liberties could see that the claim of the proprietors to be exempt from taxation was an absurdity. The greatest dukes and feudal lords in England were taxed, and why should a proprietary gentleman escape? The English people, lords as well as commons, were quite severely taxed for the war at that time; and it was a little exasperating to see the Penn estates exempt when they were right upon the American border, and the people at home spending thousands of pounds to protect them.

Meantime Governor Denny in the province was relaxing his rigorous obedience to his instructions. For

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several years he had received no salary from the Assembly; and under pressure for want of money, and the belief that Franklin would succeed in England, he gave his assent to a bill subjecting the estates to taxation. The bill was sent to England, and the proprietors opposed it before the Privy Council, as hostile to their rights and ruinous to themselves and their posterity. This was Franklin's opportunity, and he secured counsel to resist the lawyers of the proprietors before the Privy Council.

The proprietors argued that the Act was intended to load the proprietary estate with all the burdens of government and war, so as to spare the estates of the people; and if it were suffered to continue, the proprietors would be taxed out of existence, and the proprietorship broken up. They professed to believe that all their wild and unmarketable lands would be taxed at the same rate as cultivated lands, and that their town lots would be taxed at such rates as to cut off all profit from a rise in value. The taxes would be increased until their income was cancelled, and all hope of speculation gone. In other words, they believed that the colonists would apply to them the single-tax theory which has been so much discussed in our time, and which, by putting all taxes on lands and taxing them to their full value, will, it is supposed, cut off speculative profit and turn it in the direction of the laborer instead of into the hands of the landlord.

Franklin and his lawyers replied that the Act had no such intention and would have no such effect. All that was asked was equality; and the assessors were honest men under oath who would take no advantage.

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At this point an idea occurred to Lord Mansfield. He called Franklin aside and asked him if he really thought no injury would be done the proprietary estate; and when Franklin said certainly, he asked him if he would enter into an engagement to assure that point. The philosopher readily assented, a paper was drawn, which he signed, and the Act received the royal approbation.

This was in 1759, after Franklin had been in England two years. He had waited long for his opportunity, but when it came he made good use of it, and his reputation was greatly enhanced. The Assembly and province considered themselves deeply indebted to him; and his willingness to risk his own personal engagement was regarded as the highest public spirit. He, however, risked little or nothing; for the tax was fairly assessed, and the proprietors had to pay only £566.

Their pride was broken and their attacks on the liberties of the colony decisively checked. They had intended to use the necessities of the war to curtail provincial rights; but the end of the war brought only a curtailment of their own excesses. The sturdy resistance that the colonists had always shown was well rewarded, and their acquiescence on one or two occasions in the demands of the governor lost them nothing. The constitutional liberties of the province had shown a steady growth from the beginning, and that growth continued.

The fame of Franklin's success spread to other colonies. It was the beginning of his diplomatic career, and Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia forthwith made him their agent.

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Governor Denny was at once removed by the Penns; and James Hamilton, who had been governor once before, was in October, 1759, appointed in his place. His instructions were rather mild, and show the change of heart that had come to the proprietors. The triumphant Assembly willingly voted in 1760 a grant of £100,000 to complete the conquest of Canada, and the bill taxed the proprietary estate. Hamilton made a feeble attempt to gain control in the expenditure of the money, but was easily defeated; and the Quaker Assembly went on in their good work, voting £23,500 for the king's use, and building, for the protection of the Delaware, a fort on Mud Island at the mouth of the Schuylkill, which afterward became Fort Mifflin.

Peace was declared, Nov. 3, 1762; and Feb. 10, 1763, the treaty of Paris was signed. Franklin returned the following summer covered with honors and glory, and the memory of the greatest pleasures he had ever enjoyed. He had received the degree of doctor of laws from the universities of St. Andrew's, Edinburgh, and Oxford. He had become a member of numerous learned societies. He had seen and conversed with the greatest men of the age, made new experiments in science, furnished Priestley with the information for his book on electricity, and published essays on all sorts of subjects. The Assembly voted him their thanks and £500 for every year of his absence.

Pontiac's Conspiracy

CHAPTER XVI

PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY

MONTREAL had been taken Sept. 8, 1760, and at the same time the French surrendered Detroit and all their other posts on the lakes as far as the Straits of Mackinaw, between Huron and Michigan. This extended the English frontier four hundred miles west of Fort Pitt, far beyond the hopes of the colonists in the beginning of the war; for at one time they had looked forward to nothing more than to keep the French west of Pennsylvania.

The treaty of Paris, signed in February, 1763, seemed to make everything secure; and the Pennsylvania farmers, who had returned to their homes, looked forward to a long era of quiet and prosperity. But that treaty had not reckoned with an important element in the situation. The stalwart savage, Pontiac, was not consulted, and his signature had not been secured. The Indians soon discovered, as they had long suspected, that the English were a far worse enemy to their race than the French. They cut down more trees; they killed and frightened away more game; and they advanced their detested civilization with rapid strides. Pontiac determined to organize all the Indian tribes from Lake Ontario to Georgia, and rush upon the whole colonial frontier.

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The wonderful skill he showed in organizing, and the craft and cunning with which he took fort after fort from the English, can best be read in the vivid pages of Parkman. Inspired by the genius of their leader, the Indians took, in a short time, Venango, Le Bœuf, Presque Isle, La Bay, St. Joseph's, Miamis, Ouachitumon, Sandusky, and Michilimackinac, massacring the garrisons, and leaving only Detroit, Niagara, and Fort Pitt in the hands of the English.

By the 1st of June, 1763, scalping-parties reached Fort Pitt and began to murder all round it. Soon the main body of the savages dashed itself against the Pennsylvania frontier, and made a clean sweep of everything west of the Susquehanna. It was the massacre after Braddock's defeat over again, but a great deal worse. The Indians were more numerous, more thoroughly organized, and had been directed to burn and destroy as well as kill. Pontiac was no trifler in war. He knew that the property of the white man was as valuable as his scalp; and houses, barns, corn, hay, and everything that would burn received the torch. There was a completeness about the devastation unusual with Indians, and showing the direction of a master mind. Armed parties of rangers, who visited the scenes of destruction, found everything levelled to ashes, with burnt bodies in the cinders, and here and there the frightful sight of a human being tomahawked and scalped, but still alive, or the disgusting scene of pigs tearing and feeding on the dead.

The people, utterly unprepared, supposing they had settled down to a long peace, fled eastward in droves, like frightened sheep, leaving their grainfields waving

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in the wind, and surrounded by the silent forests. They crowded into Shippensburg and Carlisle, filling houses, stables, cellars, and pig-sties, or lying in open sheds in the streets. On the 25th of July, 1763, there were in Shippensburg alone over thirteen hundred of these unfortunates, and hundreds of others in other places, or camped along the banks of the Susquehanna.

All attempt at resistance, or even the thought of it, seems to have been paralyzed. The terrible war-whoop and the inhuman butchery and cruelty were now so well known that the people were panic-stricken, and fled at the first suggestion of them. It is impossible for us now to realize the effect upon the minds of the bravest, at that time, of the slightest intimation that the Indians were upon them. In New York, near the town of Goshen, in this same year, 1763, four or five men went partridge-shooting among the hills, and, happening to fire all their guns at once at a large covey, immediately depopulated the whole country-side. At the sound of the volley echoing through the woods, farmers cut the traces of their horses from carts and ploughs, and galloped away for their lives. Women, children, and property of all kinds were seized and hurried across the Hudson into New England. Five hundred families fled from their homes, and for many days the neighborhood was completely abandoned.¹

In Pennsylvania, the first to arouse themselves were the Philadelphians, who began to send assistance to the fugitives. The congregation of Christ Church were particularly active. Besides money, they for-

¹ Penn. Gazette, No. 1809.

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warded two chests of arms and half a barrel of powder, with bullets, lead, and flints. A missionary they sent out to distribute the relief found seven hundred and fifty abandoned farms, and two hundred frightened women and children huddled together in Fort Pitt.

That same Fort Pitt was soon surrounded by the Indians, and all communication with it cut off. Unprovided with cannon, and with no knowledge of the regular methods of siege, the red men, nevertheless, seemed to be inspired with greater steadiness and patience than they had ever shown before. They posted themselves under the banks of both rivers, digging out holes and intrenchments with their knives, and poured upon the fort, from day to day, a steady storm of balls and fire-arrows, which seemed to come out of the ground. The commander was Capt. Simeon Ecuyer, a gallant and genial Swiss, like Bouquet. If we may judge from his letters, he thought it good sport to dodge the fire-arrows as he passed round the port-holes, encouraging his grim frontiersmen, who were trying to plant bullets where they had seen the last puff of smoke. The fort was strong and well supplied with provisions; but the fire and the famine of the close investiture would in time reduce it, and the fate of the soldiers and the refugee settlers, with their wives and children, in the hands of such enemies, was terrible to contemplate.

General Amherst was commander-in-chief of the British force in America, and every effort was made for a rescue. Relief was sent by water to Detroit and Niagara, and an expedition planned to save Fort Pitt, under the lead of that daring and perfect soldier,

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Col. Henry Bouquet. He was given only five hundred men, the remains of two regiments that had just returned, broken and diseased, from the West Indies. Orders were given to prepare provisions for him at Carlisle; but the frightened people could scarcely supply themselves. When he arrived there he found nothing, and had to distribute the food that he had brought with him among the unfortunate people.

But he was no loiterer. He arrived at Carlisle on the 3d of July, and eighteen days afterward started for Fort Pitt with what may be described as a hospital battalion; for his men, though veterans, were many of them so infirm that they had to ride on the wagons. Not a man of the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen joined him. They were slow at furnishing him with wagons, and caused him many delays. They were, indeed, broken and demoralized, and stayed at home, they said, to protect their families; and, moreover, they believed that the colonel and his sick list were doomed.

They certainly seemed to be walking into the jaws of death; for the Indians, as soon as they heard of their march, dropped the siege of Fort Pitt and started to waylay them. The English were not only sick, but were fewer in numbers than the number of the slain at Braddock's defeat, while the Indians were many times more numerous. But these sickly veterans were commanded by a soldier who, of all the officers in the British army, was the most skilled in the warfare of the woods. Fort Ligonier and Fort Bedford lay between him and Fort Pitt, and his first movement was to strengthen them. They were full of military supplies; and if they and their garrisons were taken,

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the Indians would have abundant means for attack or siege. He sent thirty men ahead of him, who, by forced marches, reached Fort Ligonier unobserved, dashed through the Indians that surrounded it, and joined the garrison within. Two companies of light infantry relieved Fort Bedford in a similar way, and on the 25th of July Bouquet arrived there with his whole force.

The Indians were scouting and scalping all round. Communication was cut off. He could learn nothing of the condition of Fort Pitt or obtain any knowledge of the situation except that the woods seemed to be full of the enemy. Nevertheless, on the 28th, he started for Fort Ligonier, where he left his wagons, and with a convoy composed only of pack-horses, moved on.

He had come within almost twenty miles of Fort Pitt, and he knew that there was before him a dangerous defile with rough, wooded sides. To elude any ambuscade, he decided to make a forced march, and pass through this defile quickly in the night. But having started with that intent about one o'clock in the afternoon of August 5, when within half a mile of Bushy Run, and not far from Braddock's fatal field, the Indians suddenly made a savage attack on his advance-guard. The main body came quickly to the support of the guard, and, the whole force advancing, the Indians gave way. It was the same tactics that had been used against Braddock; and when it was found that the Indians were retreating, the pursuit was instantly checked, and the little army drawn together. It was none too soon; for almost immediately, as with Braddock, the enemy rose up as out of the ground, on

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the flanks and rear, and those who had retreated rushed back. A charge was made, which dislodged them for a time; but it had no useful effect, for they immediately came back again. It was their policy to retreat as soon as attacked, and then return under cover of the trees. Bouquet could do nothing but withdraw to the convoy, forming a circle round it, with the wounded inside. The Indians formed a circle outside, and the battle raged till sunset.

It was in many respects like the attack on Braddock, and yet how different! There was not the slightest confusion among those West India invalids; and, wonderful to relate, they succeeded, before night, in driving off the Indians, not by bushwhacking, but with their bayonets.

Bouquet, however, had grave doubts of his ability to survive the next day; and he sent a messenger, who slipped through the Indian lines, to warn General Amherst that he might expect to hear of a calamity. The men slept in the circle round the baggage, and the next morning were attacked again. The Indians raged and yelled, circling round and round the Englishmen, and several times tried to break into the circle. They were repulsed; but how long could such a situation be endured? The English were suffering from thirst, unable to move, constantly killed and wounded, losing their horses, and must, in the end, succumb.

But Bouquet knew the Indian mind, and he also could lay ambuscades. If he could only bring them to a close engagement, he might escape. For this purpose he withdrew two companies from the most advanced part of the circle, as if retreating, and they

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passed out of the circle at the opposite side of it. The Indians instantly attacked the place that seemed to have been weakened, and they were the more encouraged when they saw the whole circle contracting. They left the woods that had covered them, and rushed in a mass to the point where they believed they could break the circle. It was a terrible onset, and in a few minutes they would have broken in. But the two companies that had passed outside went round half the circle, and suddenly fell upon the Indian flank. The Indians could not withstand their charge; and, as they fled, they were again attacked by two other companies that had slipped out on the other side of the circle. The four companies joined their fire, and, all rushing upon the enemy, scattered them in the woods.

The sudden and unexpected defeat of their companions demoralized the whole body of the Indians, and they gave up the contest. But in their retreat they passed close by Fort Pitt, and sounding their dismal scalp-yell, shook their bloody trophies at Ecuyer and his garrison. Bouquet and his exhausted men were left to pursue their way, unharmed, to the fort. But so severe had been the engagement, so many horses had been lost, and so great the fatigue endured, that the little army spent four days in making the twenty miles.

But it was a most remarkable victory, snatched, as it was, from what seemed certain defeat. It was the first instance of a successful stand by troops fighting after the European manner, and surrounded by Indians in the woods. It has even been asserted that there was never, either before or since, such a victory of white

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men over Indians. Bouquet's prompt sagacity had saved the day; and it is almost certain that any other British officer of that time would have left his bones, with those of his men, to whiten in the forest. He deserved greater honors than he has ever received from Pennsylvania, whose people he delivered from a vast increase of death and suffering. The Indians seemed to consider themselves utterly routed, and no more was heard from them that autumn and winter. The frightened settlers returned to their farms, and again believed that peace was secured. Bouquet strengthened himself in Fort Pitt, and secured his line of communication back to the east.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SCOTCH-IRISH AND THE QUAKERS

AFTER Bouquet had left Carlisle, and was moving westward to his victory at Bushy Run, the courage of the frontiersmen was somewhat restored, and they began to organize as rangers and defend themselves. The men in the neighborhood of Carlisle and Shippensburg were led by James Smith, who had been in captivity among the Indians in the previous war, and wrote an interesting narrative of his adventures. His men painted their faces red and black like the savage warriors, and became such skilful bushwhackers that their part of the frontier was but little molested. In the upper part of the Susquehanna Valley, one hundred and ten rangers intercepted some Indians at Muncey Creek, and, after a battle of half an hour, put them to flight. Colonel Armstrong also collected about three hundred men to surprise the Indians on the Susquehanna. He arrived, however, too late, for the Indians had fled. But learning of another small village of them, he selected one hundred and fifty of his best men to make a dash upon it, as he had done some years before upon Kittanning. He reached the village; but the enemy did not wait to fight him, and left the dinner which they were preparing still hot upon their bark plates. He was obliged to satisfy

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himself with the destruction of their houses, grain, and provisions.

The Assembly also raised a force of seven hundred men, who were divided into small parties, to range the Susquehanna Valley and enable the people to gather their crops. Two of these companies, stationed in Lancaster County, were in command of a famous Presbyterian minister, Rev. John Elder, pastor of a church at Paxton.

The last war had made the Indian name sufficiently detested, but the new outburst, under Pontiac, had inflamed the people to such a pitch of hatred that some of them were ready for any sort of vengeance. We gain an idea of the state of this feeling when we find that Amherst, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, thought it would be well to infect the various tribes with small-pox, that Bouquet said he would try to carry out the suggestion with infected blankets, and that another subordinate officer suggested the distribution among them of greater quantities of rum. It was with the greatest difficulty that Bouquet could protect prisoners, and even the Indian scouts and messengers he employed, from the vengeance of the frontiersmen. A few friendly Indians, who sought his protection at Carlisle, had to be carefully guarded from the people; and the solitary prisoner his men took at Bushy Run was shot to death like a rat. The Indians he employed to carry despatches were instructed, when they approached a post or settlement, to put a green branch in the muzzles of their guns; and this signal was supposed to be understood by every one; yet the poor fellows were sometimes shot at sight.

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The thirst for the wildest kind of vengeance was most intense and clamorous among the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen, who now for the first time became conspicuous. Heretofore they had played an insignificant part in the history of the colony; had been content to go out and occupy the wild land, and pay little attention to politics. They were scattered over vast extents of mountain and forest, and their entire energies absorbed in the struggle for existence. But danger and suffering were rapidly driving them into union; and they began at this time to form themselves into a distinct and organized party.

Their loud complaints against the Quakers and the Assembly, and their demands for protection and vengeance, may seem somewhat inconsistent when we remember that they had declined to follow Bouquet in his expedition to save Fort Pitt, although that was evidently the only plan that would permanently check invasion and secure the protection and vengeance they desired. They, however, soon afterward formed themselves into ranging companies, and took very efficient means for their own protection. But they were not much interested in invasions of the enemy's country, and apparently because they thought it more important to stay at home and protect their families, while the regular troops attended to the distant expeditions.

As part of this home protection, they soon turned their attacks upon the Quakers and the semi-civilized Indians living in the eastern part of the province. They were certain that the Quakers were responsible for everything; and their Presbyterian preachers, who were now rapidly organizing them, gave them great

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encouragement in this opinion. Fiery sermons were preached. The Quaker doctrine was wrong, and only evil could result from it. The Quakers had offended God in the foundation of the colony by making treaties of kindness with the Indians instead of exterminating them as a heathen race; and that policy of treaties and pious friendship, still persisted in, had gradually developed this calamity of continuous murder and scalping from which there seemed no escape. It was the vengeance of an angry deity. The heathen had not been destroyed, the Scriptures had been disobeyed, and God, as a punishment, had deluged the frontiers with blood.

"And when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee, thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them." — Deuteronomy vii. 2.

After Bouquet's victory at Bushy Run, in August, 1763, the Indians were almost entirely quiet for some months. But in the autumn some depredations, though by no means so excessive as before, were committed; and the frontiersmen believed that the whole flood of massacre would be again upon them. They began to suspect that the friendly Indians of Conestoga, near Lancaster, and those that had been converted to Christianity by the Moravians at Bethlehem, were at the bottom of the mischief, and were supplying their red brethren with ammunition and information, and sheltering them from pursuit.

The Conestoga Indians were the degenerate descendants of some of the clans that met the first settlers, supplied them with game, and made treaties with

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William Penn. They had left the war-path, and even the chase, and were devoting themselves to basket and broom making, and other small occupations. They were supposed to be completely tamed, and were the pets of the proprietary government, which supplied them at times with food and clothes. They were often troublesome, and in the previous war had threatened to go over to the French, but were restrained by fresh presents.¹ One of their number, Will Sock, had been charged with murder; but their offences were usually no worse than continual begging from the government, which, they said, owed them support because it had driven away their game. The people who lived near them seem to have usually regarded them as harmless. But some of the frontiersmen thought differently, and, after having collected what they considered sufficient evidence of their evil disposition, asked Governor Hamilton to remove them, and assured him that their removal would secure the safety of the frontier. He was himself, however, removed from office before he could reply, and in October, 1763, John Penn, the son of Richard Penn, one of the proprietors, appointed in his stead.

Governor Penn was in his turn also warned about the Conestogas; but he told the rangers that these Indians were innocent and helpless, and occupied a part of one of the proprietary manors, having been placed there by a private agreement with his grandfather, the founder, and this agreement had been since confirmed. The government, he said, was therefore pledged to their protection.

¹ 8 Col. Rec. 113, 122, 135.

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About the same time a party of rangers encamped near the Moravian Indians in the Lehigh Valley, intending to destroy them in the night, but a violent storm prevented. The governor, however, investigated these Indians in conjunction with some commissioners appointed by the Assembly; and the commissioners reported the Indians dangerous, and in league with the hostile tribes. A resolution passed that they be invited to come to Philadelphia; and one hundred and forty of them were accordingly brought down, jeered at, and cursed by the people in every town they passed through, and with difficulty saved from an attack of the mob in Philadelphia. They were protected by the government in suitable buildings, and their wants supplied by the Quakers.

It was not a moment too soon. The people at Paxton, near the present site of Harrisburg, were under the preaching of the famous John Elder, who had often addressed an armed congregation with his own rifle resting beside him in the pulpit. Fifty-seven of them, ever after known as the Paxton Boys, finding their warnings unappreciated, went, at the break of day, on the 14th of December, 1763, to the village of the Conestogas, and found only six of them at home, — three men, two women, and a boy, — who were instantly shot down, their bodies mangled, and their cabins and property burned. As the rangers returned through the snow, after their bloody work, they met a man, to whom they freely told what they had done. He protested against their cruelty, and was bluntly asked, "Don't you believe in God and the Bible?"

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At a house where some of them stopped for refreshment, a little boy, who went to look at their horses, noticed the bloody tomahawks hanging at the saddle-bows, and after they were gone told his parents. The truth was immediately suspected; and, on going to the Indian village, the bodies of the six unfortunates were found still burning in the ruins of the cabins. The sheriff and a party soon after arrived; and the remaining fourteen of the tribe, who were away selling brooms, were promptly collected and put, for protection, in the work-house at Lancaster, as the jail was called.

The rangers heard of it, and in a few days assembled again and started for Lancaster. John Elder, their pastor, had attempted to stop their previous expedition; and, hearing of this new one, he mounted his horse and overtook them. He drew rein across the road in front, and used all his authority to dissuade them; but a rifle held against his breast forced him to move aside. They rode into Lancaster at a gallop, fastened their horses, and rushed to the jail. The doors were crushed in, and the poor Indians, men and women and children, shot, and cut to pieces with hatchets.

This was probably the first instance of the administration of that lynch law, as it is called, which has now become so common among us that hundreds of lynchings take place in the United States every year; and so far as it is a benefit, the Scotch-Irish may be given the credit for its introduction. The lynching of the Conestogas would not now occasion much surprise, especially in some parts of the country. But in the year 1763, it was altogether a new thing among English-speaking peoples, and the surprise, indignation, and

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disgust shown in the pamphlets and writings of the time were very great.

These wild Scotch-Irish, it was said, had been crying aloud for protection, and yet were afraid to assist in protecting themselves by marching with Bouquet to save Fort Pitt. Instead of marching westward, where the enemy was, they had come eastward, and murdered a score of poor, degraded, defenceless people, mostly women and children. How could law and order be maintained, and what was the security for life, liberty, or property, if any chance band of ruffians could take the law into their own hands and at their own caprice condemn and execute?

Franklin was particularly indignant and outspoken. He wrote a pamphlet, which, like everything else from his pen, had a wide circulation, and was known for a long time as the "Narrative," from the first word of its title. The Assembly and their friends were much delighted with it; and for some months it was almost impossible to enter certain houses without being asked, "Has thee read the 'Narrative'?"

The Arabs, Turks, and Papist Spaniards, said Franklin, in his rich and homely phrases, protect the helpless and unfortunate and all who have broken bread or plighted faith with them; and the poor Conestoga Indians would have been safer among any of these infidels, or among the negroes of Africa, than among the Christian white savages of Peckstang and Donegal.

They were the remnants of a tribe, he said, that met the first settlers of the province with presents of corn and venison, and afterward made, with William

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Penn, the great treaty, the admiration of the whole civilized world. The words of this treaty had declared that it was to last as long as the sun should shine or the waters run in the rivers. It had been renewed from time to time, or, as the Indians expressed it, the chain had been brightened; and the twenty remnants of the tribe still kept up the custom of presenting an address of welcome to every new governor. They had only just completed this ancient and interesting ceremony in the presence of young Penn, the grandson of their great benefactor, when they were annihilated by the Paxtons, — the valorous, heroic Paxtons, prating of God and the Bible, fifty-seven of whom, armed with rifles, knives, and hatchets, had actually succeeded in killing three old men, two women, and a boy.

But on the frontier, and among a large number of people in the eastern part of the province, the lynchers had the fullest sympathy, and so strong was the feeling that the government was powerless. No attempt was made at concealment. The rangers openly boasted of their deed, and as one of them afterward expressed it, were ready to leave their cause with God and their guns. It was generally believed that the Conestogas were more or less guilty; it is probable that one or two of them had been concerned in some of the minor depredations that had been recently committed; and with this for an excuse, the authorities were easily defied.

Governor Penn issued two proclamations, denouncing the murder of the Indians, and instructed the magistrates to commit the guilty ones for trial wherever found. But nothing was ever done, and nothing could

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be done. A company of British regulars, encamped near Lancaster, on their way from Fort Pitt, seem also to have been in sympathy with the lynchers, and could not be relied upon to enforce the law. The governor was helpless, and his proclamations meaningless and laughed at.

As in the previous war, there had been a violent outburst of party feeling, so now there was another. The Scotch-Irish were soon in the full flame of an insurrection, not unlike the Whiskey Rebellion, in which they indulged themselves almost thirty years afterward. The few Quakers who lived on the frontier were in danger of their lives, or of having their houses burned by mobs. Meetings were held, denouncing the Assembly, and everything else at Philadelphia; and delegates were appointed to proceed to that city and demand redress.

A large company of backwoodsmen, variously estimated at from five hundred to fifteen hundred, set forth in January, 1764, on foot and on horseback, and finally halted at Germantown, seven miles north of the Quaker stronghold. They had intended to enter that stronghold, but found the ferries on the Schuylkill guarded, and more preparation than they expected. One ferry, however, — the Swedes Ford, — some fifteen miles north of the city, was open, and crossing by this they found themselves between the two rivers, and, turning down toward the city, thought it prudent to venture no farther than Germantown.

This strange assemblage had both a civil and a military character. It was composed of the representatives of public meetings, and also of the rangers and

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Paxtons with their weapons. The rangers openly declared that they intended to capture Philadelphia, seize the one hundred and forty Moravian Indians, and put them to death as they deserved. They also had some vague intentions, they scarcely knew what, of destroying the political power of the Quakers. They expected much assistance from the mob in the city, which had already shown itself so hostile to the converted Indians; and they hoped that their Presbyterian brethren would also assist them, or, at least, remain neutral. As they passed along the roads leading to Philadelphia, they amused themselves by thrusting their rifles into the windows of the farmhouses, shooting chickens and pigs, and occasionally they would lay hold of some man, throw him down, and pretend to scalp him.

Their coming had been foreseen for some time, and their movements watched by scouts and couriers, who were constantly arriving in the town with their horses all in foam. The greatest excitement and alarm prevailed, especially among the Quakers and anti-proprietary party. The Presbyterians and Churchmen had less to fear. But all who had property to lose, no matter what their faith, knew what the invasion meant.

At first it was intended to send the Moravian Indians down the river; but this was changed, and they were sent to New York, to be under the protection of Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations. But the New York governor would not receive them, and the Governor of New Jersey would not allow them to remain in his province. They were a source of riot and excitement among the people wherever they went. So they

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were returned to Philadelphia, and quartered at the soldiers' barracks near what is now Third and Green streets.

The greatest preparations were made to protect the city. British regulars were summoned. Six companies of foot, two of cavalry, and a battery of artillery were hastily formed; and the quarters of the Moravian Indians were fortified with earthworks and cannon. Governor Penn anxiously sought the aid of Franklin, who again became a military man, and superintended the preparations.

He had no difficulty in raising recruits; for the Quakers had now no scruples whatever against the fleshly arm. The unspeakable Presbyterian was upon them,—the man who in New England had hung four of their sect, and whose religion knew no mercy for the heretic. Human nature asserted itself, and the Quaker rushed to war. Some of them worked on the fortifications, and salved their consciences with the idea that it was not actual fighting. But others, so the pamphlets of that time report, openly shouldered muskets, and asked to be led to Germantown, where they declared they would kill every Scotch-Irishman in the colony; that they had force enough to do it; and it was the only way to treat such robbers and murderers.

Many, however, feared that it would be the rangers who would make the first attack. The day of their arrival, the 4th of February, the Quakers and others, who had hastily become soldiers, assembled at the barracks containing the Indians and a few regulars at Third and Green streets. There they remained all night in a drenching rain, expecting at any moment to

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hear the crack of Paxton rifles. The next day, although Sunday, it seemed well to let the Scotch-Irish know what might happen to them; and the cannon which commanded all the approaching streets were fired. The poor Indians in the barracks, not knowing the reason, thought their last hour had come.

But instead of a battle, some ministers were sent to meet the rioters and pacify them; and while they were gone, an alarm was raised at the dead of night in the city. The church-bells were rung, the drums beat, and the people, as they sprang from their beds, immediately, in conformity with a previous understanding, put lighted candles in every window. With the streets all illuminated, the citizen soldiery assembled again at the barracks, and soon saw their enemy approaching on horseback, up one of the streets. A cannon was levelled at them; the gunner held the match; and in another moment some Presbyterians would test the truth of their theology in the other world. But there was a frantic cry, the gunner's hand was stayed, and directly every one saw that the enemy was a party of Germans, come in from the country to assist their friends the Quakers.

A day or so afterward there was another night alarm. The candles flamed in every window, and the soldiers were again at the barracks. But no enemy appeared; and a rain-storm coming up, many of the soldiers sheltered themselves in a Quaker meeting-house, which for a time bristled with bayonets and swords, an opportunity for satire on Quaker principles of which the Presbyterian pamphleteers were not slow to avail themselves.

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Commissioners were sent out to negotiate at Germantown, and among them was, of course, the sagacious and genial Franklin. They conferred with the rebels, and interested themselves in watching their strange appearance and costume, — the blanket-coat, with a belt, the fringed leggings, and the long rifle. They were not as rough always as they seemed, and some of them, in conversation, proved to be quiet, pleasant fellows, with a rather intelligent comprehension of civil rights. Their excitement had been quieted by the preparations they knew had been made in the city, and some of the more agreeable traits of the Scotch-Irishman had begun to show themselves. A committee of them began to prepare a memorial of their grievances; and those who remained at Germantown whiled away the time by practising with their rifles at the old Lutheran church's weather-vane, — the figure of a cock, — which, with the bullet-marks upon it, is still preserved.

Their document of grievances, when prepared, was expressed in clear, temperate language, with here and there an admirable touch of backwoods simplicity. So far as good taste and strength of argument were concerned, it might almost have been written by Franklin; and it was not unequal to some of the state papers of the Revolution. It showed a side of the Scotch-Irish character which fortunately became more conspicuous in after years.

It complained mildly that the Moravian Indians, the abettors of the massacre of women and children, were protected by the government and secured from righteous vengeance; but it made no demands about them except

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that they should be removed from the colony, and hereafter no Indians allowed to live in the inhabited parts of the country in time of war. It complained that a law had been passed by which the men who killed the Conestoga Indians were to be tried at Philadelphia instead of in the county where their supposed crime had been committed, and it asked that this grievance be remedied. The five frontier counties — Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northampton — had only ten representatives in the Assembly, while the interior counties — Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks — had twenty-six. The representation, it said, should be more equal.

The men wounded in border wars, the complaint went on, should be cared for at public expense; no more trade should be carried on with the Indians until they restored the prisoners they had taken; and hereafter no private person should be allowed to correspond or treat with any hostile tribe. Great complaint was made about the scalp bounty. In the previous war, it was said, Pennsylvania, like the rest of his Majesty's colonies, had offered a bounty for Indian scalps. The practice had been most beneficial; for it encouraged daring men to invade the Indian country, and inflicted most serious loss on the enemy. They asked for a renewal of this excellent custom, the discontinuance of which had blunted the energies of many a brave ranger.

Their petition having been finished and presented, most of the rioters prepared to depart for their homes, and the citizen-soldiers in the town were called together, thanked for their services, and dismissed. But

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the next morning the alarm was again sounded. The Paxtons had broken the treaty and were in the town. Within fifteen minutes a thousand of the people were under arms, and, according to a Quaker writer of the time, were so infuriated at being disturbed again, that if the whole body of the enemy had come in, there would have been a very bloody engagement.¹ But it was only about thirty of the frontiersmen, who, before they returned home, wanted to see the sights of the town.

They were allowed to wander about and gratify their curiosity. They asked to be taken to the barracks of the Moravian Indians, where, they said, they could point out some who had been in battles against the white men; but when taken to the Indians, they were unable to find any of those they had described, and were obliged to start the story that the Quakers had secreted the guilty ones. Several of them boasted openly that they had taken part in the Conestoga murders; and one of them is reported to have said, with much swagger, "I am the man who killed Will Sock; this is the arm that stabbed him to the heart, and I glory in it."

Will Sock was a well-known character among the Conestogas; and Graydon, in his "Memoirs," relates the boast of the man who professed to have killed him as having been made to a school-teacher, named Davis, in whose school Graydon was a pupil. Davis, like many others, especially Presbyterians, had mingled among the thirty frontiersmen when they came to the city, and talked with them. He was so far carried away by their opinions that he related their deeds to

¹ Haz. Pa. Reg. xii. 11.

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his school-children with approval. "He was really a kind, good-natured man," says Graydon, "yet from the dominion of his religious or political prejudices he had been led to apologize for, if not to approve of, an outrage which was a disgrace to a civilized people."

The incident illustrates very well the state of feeling and the way in which people took sides. So many people, like the good school-master, Davis, sympathized with the rioters that, though they openly spoke of what they had done at Conestoga and Lancaster, the government dared not arrest them, even when it had them in its grasp in the city. On the other hand, many others, like Graydon and Franklin, although not Quakers, were of a different way of thinking, and were thoroughly disgusted with the Paxtons and their insurrection. There has been much misunderstanding of the situation, because writers have given the impression that only the Quakers opposed the Scotch-Irish. But as a matter of fact, pretty much the whole body of the Germans in the country districts, and many Churchmen and others, were on the Quaker side; and if they had not been, Philadelphia would probably have been sacked and burned, followed by a revolution in the government.

Only one request of the Scotch-Irish was granted. The governor issued the long-desired scalp proclamation. After offering large rewards for prisoners and male scalps, it closed by saying, "And for the scalp of a female Indian Fifty pieces of eight." Such was the melancholy end of Penn's Indian policy,—a policy which for its justice and humanity had at one time aroused the admiration of all the philosophers of

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Europe. But now the tribe with which he made the famous treaty, dwindled by rum and civilization to a miserable remnant of twenty, had turned traitor to the colonists, and was annihilated, and his grandson was offering bounties for women's scalps.

Party spirit was up. It would not be appeased when the frontiersmen retired from Germantown, and the rest of the contest had to be fought on paper. The Quakers and the anti-proprietary party denounced the Paxtons, and declared that, instead of coming to Philadelphia with rifles in their hands, they should have come with ropes round their necks. On the other side, the proprietary party—the Presbyterians, and many of the Churchmen—were loud in praise of the Paxtons, who, they said, had, by their promptness, delivered the colony from wretches who had been destroying men, women, and children for years. The two factions rushed into one of the fiercest pamphlet wars of which we have any account in colonial history.

The controversy was not only hot and bitter, but very voluminous; for between fifty and sixty pamphlets are still to be found in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and it is not unlikely that there were others which have been forgotten or lost. Some of them are in verse, and some in dialogue; but most of them are in plain and sometimes coarse prose.

The burden of the Quaker argument was that the Presbyterians had unlawfully settled on land belonging to the Indians, and had brought on the war. So long as the Indians were in contact with the Quakers and the Germans there was peace; but as soon as the

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Presbyterians went among them, the trouble began. The Germans lived on the frontier, and suffered severely from Indian raids; but they never complained of the Conestogas, and never suspected them of treachery. Moreover, the Presbyterians were bad people in other respects. They were always rebellious and disorderly, as the history of the sect in England clearly showed. Rebellion and Presbyterianism had become interchangeable terms. They propagated their religion by the sword, like the Mahometans, and had a terrible record of cruelty and persecution in Scotland and New England. Their object in Pennsylvania, as everywhere else, was to establish their religion by law, levy taxes for the support of it, and compel everybody to attend the kirk under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

The word "Presbyterian," when used by the Quakers, was intended to include Puritans, Independents, and Massachusetts Congregationalists; in fact, all Calvinists, who were the people, of all others, that the Quakers hated. They believed them to be a serious menace to religious liberty, and resented their presence in the colony. They looked upon the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish as belonging to the same sect, which, in Massachusetts, had hung four Quakers, and whipped a hundred or more of them at the cart's tail. The Massachusetts affair is often referred to in the pamphlets, and usually with great bitterness. In one of the dialogues, a Quaker, after describing how he will overcome the Scotch-Irish at Germantown, says to a Presbyterian, "Then will I remember New England and make thee tremble."

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The Scotch-Irish, and their sympathizers in the proprietary party, answered the Quaker hatred with contempt and ridicule. The sect, they said, was, by its absurd principles, unfit for government, and should be driven out of it. It was impossible for a Quaker to be sincere in his religion and, at the same time, take part in politics; and, as a matter of fact, the best members abstained altogether from politics, and left the government of the colony to the hypocrites. In the horrors of the French and Indian wars, as well as in Pontiac's conspiracy, these hypocrites, as well as the more pious and deluded ones, had been corresponding with the savages, giving them presents, and attempting to stop their bloodthirsty course with treaties and kindness. They would never go to war while white people were in danger; but the moment the Moravian Indians were threatened they rushed to arms.

Some of the Presbyterian doggerel verses on this subject were rather good:—

“ Go on good Christians never spare
To give your Indians clothes to wear;
Send 'em good beef and pork and bread,
Guns, powder, flints and store of lead,
To shoot your neighbors through the head ;
Devoutly then make Affirmation,
You 're Friends to George and British Nation ;
Encourage ev'ry friendly savage,
To murder, burn, destroy and ravage ;
Fathers and mothers here maintain,
Whose sons add numbers to the slain :
Of Scotch and Irish let them kill
As many thousands as they will
That you may lord it o'er the land,
And have the whole and sole command.”

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Some of the writers, however, took a coarser view, and found the cause of Quaker affection for the Indians in the charms of the squaws. Several caricatures and doggerels enlarged on this point, and were so indecent that in modern times they would have been suppressed by the police.

The Conspiracy Broken

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CONSPIRACY BROKEN

THE relief experienced after Bouquet's victory at Bushy Run, or after the Scotch-Irish victory in the jail at Lancaster, as some insisted, was only a lull. With the first breath of spring the savages were on again. They moved in small, scattered bands, sneaking here and there, destroying isolated farms, and picking off stragglers, as they had done before; and, as had happened soon after Braddock's defeat, they came upon a country schoolhouse, and killed the master and the children. There was only one way to stop them, and that was to invade them by a powerful force in their own country. Colonel Bradstreet was sent through the lakes to relieve Detroit, and Bouquet was to march through Pennsylvania into Ohio.

Bouquet had two regiments of regulars, some Virginians and friendly Indians, and the Assembly raised for him a thousand men. It is said that the commissioners of the Assembly also agreed with him that they would send to England for fifty couple of bloodhounds to hunt the Indian scalping-parties. This plan of using dogs to assist the scouts and rangers had been several times suggested. Much was expected from it by Bouquet and others; and all the details of training the dogs and managing them in the woods

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had been prepared. But apparently it was never put in execution.

The story of this expedition into Ohio, believed by the Indians to be beyond the courage of a white man, the strange adventures of the army, their visits to the remains of curious old French and Indian villages, and their first glimpse of the open savannas, free from trees, is most fascinating, but hardly pertinent to a brief history of Pennsylvania. Bouquet was, as usual, successful beyond expectation. He compelled a peace with the Indians, and they returned to him the two hundred and more prisoners, — men, women, and children, — many of whom had been in their possession for nearly ten years.

The relations of many of these prisoners had gone out with the army; and the scene when the prisoners were all brought into camp has often been described. Fathers and mothers suddenly recognized their children; husbands received their wives, that had been carried from them years before; sisters and brothers met after their long separation, and the excitement and sympathy, even among those who were not expecting to find relatives, was intense. But in the midst of all the delight there were some who ran to and fro in vain, and asked eager questions that no one cared to answer.

Many of the children were unwilling to return with their white relations, and had to be taken by force, parting from their savage captors with tears. Even some of the grown persons were unwilling to return, and the Indians, in order to fulfil their agreement with Bouquet, were obliged to bind them and carry them to the camp. Nearly all the white women who had

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been for any length of time among the Indians showed great reluctance to leave, and many of them afterward returned to their warrior husbands.

There has probably never been a man connected with Pennsylvania who, in the best sense of the word, was so thoroughly popular with all classes of the people as Bouquet; for he had relieved them from a loss and from a horror of panic and suffering of which we can now scarcely conceive. No single person, not even Meade at Gettysburg, has ever before or since done them such a service. They have erected no monuments to his memory, and he is now almost forgotten. But in the year 1764 every man and woman seemed to regard him as a personal friend to whom they owed a debt of gratitude. The social life of Philadelphia, then becoming remarkable, in a provincial way, for its wealth and refinement, was at his feet. Even the Germans, who seldom became enthusiastic about anything outside of the fences that enclosed their farms, idolized him; and when he was made a brigadier-general, the whole province was delighted. "You can hardly imagine," writes Captain Etherington to him, from Lancaster, "how this place rings with your promotion; for the townsmen and boors stop us in the streets to ask if it is true that the king has made Colonel Bouquet a general; and when they are told it is true, they march off with great joy."

The pleasure of his return to Philadelphia was, however, marred by a disagreeable incident. The Virginia troops that accompanied the expedition, not being able to obtain payment for their services from their own province, entered claims for their wages against

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Bouquet, who, they said, had asked for their assistance in the campaign; and he had to be relieved from his embarrassment by the Assembly, which promptly paid this debt of Virginia. If Virginia had had a Quaker population, Parkman would have had the opportunity, in his "Conspiracy of Pontiac," of assigning this repudiation of a war debt to Quaker scruples; but, as the Quaker Assembly of Pennsylvania assumed and paid the debt, he is compelled simply to record it without comment.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE ATTEMPT TO ABOLISH THE PROPRIETORSHIP

THE agreement Franklin made in England, by which the proprietary estates were to be taxed on condition that the tax should be fair, naturally led to further difficulties. The proprietors and the Assembly easily differed as to what was fair; and the proprietors were soon back at their old tactics of trying to gain an advantage.

The arrangement made by Franklin provided that certain wild lands of the proprietors were not to be assessed any higher than the lowest rate at which similar lands of the people were assessed. But the governor construed this to mean that the proprietary lands should be rated at the lowest valuation of the worst lands of the people. In the year 1764, when supplies were being raised for Bouquet's final expedition, which ended the war for Pennsylvania and secured the treaty of peace, the governor attempted to force this construction on the Assembly. It was the last chance to use war necessities to gain an advantage for the proprietors, and the attempt nearly cost them their province.

The bill in which the point was raised was one for a grant of £50,000 for Bouquet's campaign; and the governor refused to sign it unless the Penns were given

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the advantage of having their best wild lands taxed at the rate paid by the people for their worst. It was a petty attempt. It admitted the principle, long contended for by the people, that the estates should be taxed, and yet tried to force a trifling advantage at the last moment by delaying an important money bill.

But the advantage, though trifling, was gained. The Assembly, anxious to end the war as soon as possible, and determined to be even with the governor and his masters in another way, passed the bill to suit him. Immediately there was a great excitement among a large part of the people, not only the Quakers, but all classes; and their anger was increased when the governor resorted to the old habit of sending affronting messages to the Assembly. Encouraged by having accomplished so much against the proprietors, and freed from any fear of French invasion, they rushed at once into a measure which they had long had in mind. This was no less than to abolish the proprietorship, and turn the country into a royal province under the direct government of the king.

The way in which this was intended to be accomplished was by completing the agreement to sell to the crown, which Penn had made in his lifetime and had been prevented by failing health from executing. The king was to step into the place of the proprietors, so far as the civil government was concerned, and pay them for the loss of it. Everything else was to stand as it was. The proprietors were to retain their lands, and there was to be no change in laws or charter. The king was simply to buy from the Penn family their right to govern.

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Even if the plan could have been carried out exactly as proposed, without any change in laws or charter, there would seem to have been but little to be gained by having a royal governor. But the worst difficulty lay in the probability that when the king, either by his prerogative or through an Act of Parliament, assumed the position of the proprietors, he might also take something more, and either change the charter and laws, or abolish them and create new ones. The mere fact of the people having petitioned for a change might easily be construed into a surrender of everything.

It is rather difficult to account for this popular outburst in favor of royal government on the eve of the events which led to the Revolution, except to say that it was a mere outburst of feeling. The Quakers, who were the leaders of the movement, had for a long time been very hostile to the proprietors, partly, no doubt, because they resented their change of religion. The province had always been a Quaker province; the Quakers had always ruled it; they were proud of their work; it seemed more honorable to be under the crown alone than to be owned by private individuals, who had deserted the faith of their father.

As advocates of the abolition of the proprietorship, they became more and more powerful, and were now able to gather to their anti-proprietary party members from all the other divisions. The Scotch-Irish on the frontier sided with them; not from any love of such companionship, but because they believed that the blame for the defenceless condition of the border could be partly charged to the neglect of the proprietors, and that they would have more protection against Quaker

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peace, as well as proprietary indifference, under a vigorous administration by a royal governor. They had no more respect for the crosses and candles of a Church of England king than for the "thee" and "thou" of the Quakers; but they had an intense and ever present horror of the tomahawk and scalping-knife. The Germans, so far as they interested themselves in the subject, were divided; and the Churchmen were also divided. But the Quakers and Scotch-Irish, together with portions of the Germans and Churchmen, made the majority in favor of a change of government in the year 1764 very large.

But the other side, though few in numbers, was strong in ability, character, and wealth. It consisted of the eastern Presbyterians, who, not having the fear of the Indian before their eyes, differed from their brethren of the border. They were led by the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, son of the founder of the Log College, and by the Rev. Francis Allison. They dreaded a royal government because they believed it would be followed by the establishment by law of the Church of England with bishops, surplices, altars, persecution, and all the iniquities of their ancient enemy. They preferred to take their chances with the proprietors, who, although Episcopalians, had thus far let them alone.

The Churchmen were also active partisans on the side of the proprietors; and the provost and the college set were the most active of all. They still found the proprietorship and the Episcopal heirs of Penn congenial to their tastes. They had more to expect from Thomas Penn's earnest sympathy for their opinions than from a royal government. They were prospering

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very well as things were, and their feelings and sentiments revolted from any suggestion of a change.

There was also still in existence the set who were dependent on the proprietary system for their incomes, and also the class who, having acquired wealth, were admirers of the proprietorship, because it represented to them the aristocratic feeling of England. People of this sort had by no means diminished with the growth of the colony. Probably most of them were Episcopilians; but, as a class, they were made up of members from all the divisions, and many of them had hard words for the shop-keeping Franklin, who took the Quaker and royal side.

These people, who took sides with the proprietors, occupied a very important position in the colony. They were patriotic and public-spirited, and many of the best things in Philadelphia are the work of their hands. In the present contest many of them had other reasons than mere feeling or taste for favoring the proprietary system,—reasons based on law, good sense, and a love of liberty. In fact, the condition of things was just the reverse of what it had been in the French and Indian wars, when the Quakers had been defending the liberties of the colony, and the provost and proprietary party had been against them. The Quakers were now jeopardizing those liberties, and the provost and the Churchmen were upholding them.

It was at this time and in this contest that John Dickinson first became prominent. He had been born in 1732 on the eastern shore of Maryland, but most of his youth had been spent near Dover, in Delaware, where he received his education from a tutor, William

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Killen, who afterward became a chief justice. When eighteen years old, Dickinson came to Philadelphia to study law under John Moland, a very prominent practitioner, and went to England to finish his studies. It was the fashion in Philadelphia, and also in the Southern colonies, to send law students to England to complete their equipment at the English inns of court. Nearly all the men who established the great fame of the Philadelphia bar were trained in this way, and the result is still apparent in the jurisprudence of the State. Dickinson drank at this same fountain, and it had considerable influence in shaping his career as a statesman.

He was a Quaker born and bred, and remained so to his dying day. He lived handsomely, drove his coach and four, was a colonel in the Revolution, and a very serious student of history and law. He believed in war, and was more in favor of the higher education than the majority of the sect. He had a large practice at the bar, and acquired in a very few years what was then considered a fortune. At the time of the proposed change of government in 1764, he was only thirty-two, and was twitted by Franklin on his youth and inexperience. His practice then extended from Philadelphia to New Castle and Dover. He had entered political life in 1760 when he was elected to the Assembly of the Lower Counties. Two years afterward he was chosen a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly.

For forty years he was one of the most conspicuous men in the colony. His integrity was perfect, and his political career is one straight line of principle and conduct. He had the full measure of Quaker courage and indifference to consequences, which sometimes amounted

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to obstinacy. In the stormy times through which he passed, whenever his opinions became unpopular he went down with colors flying. He never would change a letter or a syllable to satisfy the demands of the hour, and he always had the satisfaction of seeing the people return to him.

Although the mass of the Quakers were in favor of a change of government, Dickinson took the opposite side. It is not likely that he was influenced by his wealth and position. He was more influenced by his training as a lawyer, his knowledge of affairs in England, where he had studied law, and his instinctive dislike of movements that seemed hurried or premature.

Isaac Norris, afterward his father-in-law, was another Quaker who took the same side and for somewhat the same reason. His whole life had been passed in the public service. He had been Speaker of the Assembly for fifteen years; and he had steadily resisted the proprietors in their attempts to be exempt from taxes. But when the change to a royal government was proposed, he threw the whole force of his influence against it.

Neither side has left us in doubt about their arguments and reasons. The Assembly passed unanimously twenty-five resolutions abusing the proprietorship in every form that language could devise, and throwing upon it the blame of all the wars and every other evil that had ever happened to the province. Then they adjourned, March 20, to consult their constituents. Public meetings were held, petitions circulated for signatures, and Franklin published his pamphlet, "Cool

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Thoughts." They met again May 14. There was a great debate; and the leaders delivered themselves of elaborate speeches which were afterward published.

Dickinson admitted, with great frankness, all the evils of injustice and misgovernment that were charged against the proprietors. It would be a great relief, he said, to be rid of them, and a change was greatly to be desired when the proper time should come. But the time had not come. The proprietary system was bad, but a royal government would be worse. The colony had by its charter valuable rights and privileges which it still held unimpaired. It had a system of religious liberty so perfect that emigrants had flocked to it, not only from England, but from several countries of Europe. Its commerce was free and untaxed. The Assembly controlled their own adjournments, were chosen annually, had the sole power of raising and disposing of the public money, and the people had the right to elect sheriffs and coroners. If the colony were surrendered to the crown, every one of these privileges, now firmly established by the struggles of eighty years, might be lost.

The ministry of the day, he said, were not favorable to Pennsylvania. Complaints had been sent to England that the Quakers had refused to vote supplies for his Majesty's forces when they were fighting the French and Indians. The recent border riots of the Scotch-Irish had been blamed on the Quakers, and also on the Presbyterians. Accusations against dissenters were readily listened to at court; and if the king and ministry should decide to take the colony into their own hands, they might also decide to establish the Church of

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England by law, disfranchise the Quakers and Presbyterians, and deprive the province of many privileges.

The proposed plan of surrender to the crown provided expressly that the Penn heirs should be paid the full value of all the rights and franchises that were taken from them. But nothing was said about the rights and privileges of the colonists. They were left to chance and the good pleasure of the ministry and king. The plan was an excellent one for the Penn heirs; they could lose nothing. But the colonists might lose everything.

The most elaborate reply to Dickinson's speech was made by Joseph Galloway, and published with a preface by Franklin. Galloway, like Dickinson, was a native of Maryland, and came to Philadelphia when a young man to enjoy the opportunities offered by the practice of the law. When his property was confiscated in the Revolution, it was said to have been worth £40,000, which in present values was equivalent to over half a million dollars, and is another instance of the ease with which fortunes were acquired. His reputation has suffered from his Toryism. Severe charges were made against him by Dickinson. But as he is one of the neglected characters of Pennsylvania history and we know little about him, these charges stand neither proved nor disproved. Beyond this he appears to have been an accomplished man, somewhat given to religious speculations, a friend of Franklin and Allen, and possessed of the usual country-seat.

His speech against Dickinson was, however, a very weak one. It was absurd, he said, to suppose that

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the crown would deprive a colony of its liberties. If the present ministry were to attempt such an unpopular act, it would give a great opportunity to the party opposed to them. It would be bad policy for themselves and bad policy for England. There were plans on foot for founding new colonies, which depended for their success on large numbers of emigrants, who could be persuaded to go only by the promise of free institutions. Such schemes would receive a severe check, or be frustrated entirely, if an old colony like Pennsylvania were deprived of its privileges. He went on in this way, spending pages and pages in fulsome eulogy of the king, in the hope of showing that such a good man would never harm Pennsylvania; and he was almost equally profuse in declaring the righteousness and friendliness of Parliament. But the king whom he eulogized was George the Third; and the Parliament in which he had so much confidence was at that moment preparing plans to tax all America, and a few months afterward passed the Stamp Act which brought on the Revolution.

Franklin also had many arguments to make in his "Cool Thoughts" and in the preface to Galloway's speech. He made fun of the proprietors, and was liberal with witticisms and wise sayings in his most inimitable manner. But his reasoning was extraordinary. He asserted that the colonies, like Massachusetts, the Jerseys, and the Carolinas, which had been changed to royal governments, had been benefited by the change. This was contrary to the general opinion in those colonies, and is unsupported by history. The annoyance from the petty meanness of the Penns

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was nothing compared to the tyranny Virginia and Massachusetts had suffered from the king. Moreover, the Penns had been conquered and their schemes all defeated, which was more than any royal colony had been able to do with the plans of the crown. In the face of all the news that was coming from England of the disposition of ministry and Parliament, Franklin was still willing to say of the liberties of Pennsylvania: —

“There is therefore nothing now that can deprive us of those privileges, but an act of Parliament; and we may rely on the united justice of King, Lords and Commons that no such act will ever pass, while we continue loyal and dutiful subjects.”

That the mass of the people should have swallowed such an assertion is not so surprising. We know, from many sources, that in the year 1764 they were very loyal and ready to trust almost implicitly in the mother-country. But such a shrewd man as Franklin should have been more foreseeing. The letters of Philadelphians written that spring show that all the movements in England were well known. Dickinson was clear-sighted enough to see the end. He called attention to the recent Acts of Parliament, and warned his hearers that the ministry were regulating the new colonies, and “designing the strictest reformations in the old.” The events of the next ten years amply fulfilled his prophecy.

The reason, the logic, and the statesmanship of the situation were with Dickinson. But the feelings of the people were stronger than any of these. They had

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gained so many successes against the proprietors that, being relieved of both the French War and the Indian War, they lost their heads and were determined to rid themselves of the apron-strings of feudalism, even if the attempt should prove their ruin. The Assembly passed the petition in favor of a change by a vote of twenty-seven to three. At the last moment the venerable Speaker, Isaac Norris, resigned, rather than sign such a document. He believed the change to royal government might some day safely be made. But the present moment was too dangerous. Franklin, who had no scruples, was immediately elected to his place.

The following October was the time of the general election, and the question was fought over anew with great excitement. Franklin and Galloway were candidates on the old ticket, as it was called, and were defeated; but the popular verdict was in favor of the petition; and no sooner had the Assembly met than they appointed Franklin to be the agent to convey that petition to England, and advocate its cause before the crown and ministry.

Immediately Dickinson and the proprietary party arose to oppose with all their strength such an appointment. The selection was most unfortunate. The man to be sent was detested alike by proprietors and crown; had been just rejected by his constituents; and remonstrances against him were pouring into the Assembly from all sorts of citizens. Was he likely to be able to make with the ministry a bargain which would preserve the liberties of the province? He was undoubtedly a great luminary of the learned world. "Let him still shine, but without wrapping his country in flames."

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Nevertheless the luminary started on his mission, having first written a Protest for his enemies to read, and some letters destined to follow the English language through the ages for their force of expression and perfection of taste. The torrents of abuse, like others which had preceded them, only deepened his philosophy.

And what was the outcome of it all in England? The petition was presented, but never acted upon. The Assembly soon became a little uneasy, and sent word to Franklin not to press the petition if it would endanger the province's liberties; and apparently he did not urge it very strongly. He arrived in December, 1764, and found the whole country talking of nothing but the Stamp Act. He was soon made agent for all the colonies, and his great career as a diplomatist began. He may have been convinced that the time was inopportune for the change to royal government. Either that, or the rush of events and excitements of the next ten years, saved Pennsylvania from the results of what seems to have been a very unwise and hasty impulse.

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CHAPTER XX

LIFE AND MANNERS AT THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTION

IF it be true that a man is known by the house he lives in and the hat he wears, the colonial Pennsylvanians must have been people of very substantial character. It is, perhaps, beneath the dignity of history to enlarge on the subject of hats. But those who have seen the Quaker hat know that there is nothing frivolous about it. The architecture was equally characteristic.

The province was fortunate in possessing varied and abundant building material. Many parts of the State, and especially Philadelphia and its neighborhood, were largely underlaid with beds of yellow clay, from which excellent bricks were made. The city from the beginning was built of brick, which gave it a substantial and permanent appearance, in striking contrast to the wooden houses of some of the other colonies. There were several varieties of building stone which could be easily and cheaply worked. The farmhouses and the country residences near Philadelphia were usually built of this material. Many of these buildings are still standing, some of them more than a hundred and fifty years old. They give us an idea of the colonial life which can be obtained in no other way; and the best method of acquiring a distinct impression of that life is by visiting these old houses, and studying the pictures of those

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which no longer exist in the excellent collections in the Philadelphia Library and the Historical Society.

The architecture is in strong, simple lines, somewhat richer and less cold than the wooden architecture of the same period in New England. There are seldom any wings, nooks, or oddities. There is some severe ornamentation attained in frieze, cornice, and moulding; and columns and pilasters are often added. But the proportion of parts is excellent, and is the merit of the type. Prosperity and abundance, ease and contentment, are shown in every line, and reveal the real history and life of the people better than volumes of writing.

The construction of the buildings was of the most skilful and thorough kind. The mortar became harder than the stone. Those colonists built for time and eternity. There seems to be no limit to the life of these buildings; and when one of them has to be taken down in modern times, it is like quarrying in solid rock.

The school to which this architecture belongs is that of Sir Christopher Wren; and St. Paul's Cathedral and the Duke of Devonshire's country-seat, Chatsworth, are the most conspicuous examples of the type in England. The American development of it, though on a smaller scale, is generally admitted to have been in no sense inferior. In none of the colonies was it to be found in such completeness and excellence as at Philadelphia. Our public buildings of colonial times — the Pennsylvania Hospital, Christ Church, Carpenter's Hall, and Independence Hall — are unequalled anywhere in America. Old Christ Church is said to be the finest specimen of colonial art now in existence. Architects come from other States to measure and study its proportions.

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But the special pride of Pennsylvania colonial architecture is the country-seat. Those that still survive, like the Woodlands, Belmont, Stenton, Mount Pleasant, Cliveden, and others scattered along the shores of the rivers, or on the water-shed which extends through Germantown to Chestnut Hill, are all built of stone or brick, surrounded with ample grounds, and show in their construction that they were created by a people who had the means and the taste to enjoy life. They have no competitors except perhaps among the few remaining halls of the old Virginia aristocracy on the James.

The German architecture, which in point of construction was fully as solid and enduring as the English, deserves some mention. Excellent specimens of it are still to be found in Germantown and at Bethlehem and Ephrata. It is said to be of the Swabian and South-German type. It is plainer than the English; the houses are lower, with steeper roofs, and often have a curious shingled projection above the first story called a pent-eve. At Ephrata the type becomes very extreme, with enormous steep roofs and curious little windows.

The colonial country-places were the result of a prosperity and wealth, which, though rapidly attained, was on the whole expended without vulgarity or extravagance. The fashion of having a town residence and country residence, a rather unusual indulgence for colonial life, began very early in Philadelphia. William Penn set the example. Before the colony was five years old he had provided for himself a town-house and a country-seat, and had made arrangements to be carried between the two in a fine barge with oarsmen.

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The men who could afford such enjoyments were usually the commercial class,—merchant mariners, as they were sometimes called,—and the distinguished lawyers who created the early fame of the Philadelphia bar. The merchants usually owned the vessels which carried their cargoes, and sometimes went as captains of them. Many of those who were exclusively occupied with the merchant's business on shore had been practical seamen in their youth. It was a common practice at one time to sell both vessel and cargo in a European port. Privateering in the numerous wars with France and Spain was a regular part of the merchant's calling. A list of the private armed ships, with their significant names, which have been built at Philadelphia, would be a long one. For nearly a hundred years, from far back in the colonial period until after the War of 1812, the most characteristic Philadelphia scene to show a stranger was the building or fitting out of a privateer-smith at the wharves. A relic of this old life still remains in the numerous cannon now used to mark the corners of streets along the river-front.

It was a life that produced an accomplished and interesting type of man. The familiarity with foreign trade and foreign countries begat a liberality of thought. The speculative character of the business and the numerous risks to fortune and life developed courage, generous feelings, and not a little of unselfish patriotism. It was this school that bred Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, who was ready at any time with a smile and a jest to turn over to General Washington the cargoes of his ships.

One of the most striking and peculiar men of this

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class was John Macpherson, a Scotchman, and owner of the country-seat Mount Pleasant, which is now preserved within Fairmount Park. Like many others of the old commercial aristocracy, his origin is obscure, and it is not known when he came from Scotland. He traded, bought and sold ships, and commanded the privateersman "Britannia," on whose deck, in a fierce conflict with a Frenchman, he lost his right arm. John Adams of Massachusetts dined with him at Mount Pleasant, and described the place, as well as the wife and pretty daughters of its owner. Like other Philadelphians, he dabbled in science, delivered lectures on astronomy, and invented machinery for moving buildings.

Cliveden, the seat of Chief Justice Chew, and the Woodlands and Bush Hill, the homes of the Hamilton family, were instances of the wealth and life of the lawyers. Stenton, the home of James Logan and his descendants, was an instance of the success of a commercial Quaker, who was secretary of the province, a believer in war, and a lover of books. Stenton is still standing, but stripped of all its outhouses, shrubbery, and gardens, which once made it so attractive to the British officers. It had its own graveyard, and a curious underground passage to the stables, like the priest's escape in English country-houses. This passage was for protection against the Indians, and similar ways have been found in other old houses in Pennsylvania.

The landscape-gardening round the country-places was quite remarkable, and seems to have been a reproduction of the best of that art in England. It is a lost

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art now in Pennsylvania, and none of the modern residences equal in this respect the colonial country-seats. It survived, however, for a long time; and as late as 1830, Philadelphia was still described as having more beautiful country-seats than any other city in America.

We might mention other colonial country-seats, like the Hills, the home of Robert Morris, to which he was devotedly attached, and which he at last had to exchange for a debtor's prison. There is a description of Fair Hill, the home of the Norris family, written by Mrs. Deborah Logan, part of which may be quoted, not only for what it describes, but because it shows the style and feeling of a Quaker who was herself a typical product of colonial life: —

"Fairhill, built by Isaac Norris upon the same plan as Dolobran (a seat from long antiquity possessed by the Lloyd family in Montgomeryshire, North Wales), at least as to the ground floor, was finished in 1717, and was at that time the most beautiful seat in Pennsylvania. The sashes for the windows and much of the best work were imported from England. The entrance was into a hall paved with black and white marble, two large parlors on each side, and an excellent staircase, well lighted. The courts and gardens were in the taste of those times, with gravel walks and parterres. Many lofty trees were preserved round the house, which added greatly to its beauty, and, at the time of my remembrance, the outbuildings were covered with festoons of ivy and scarlet bignonia. Isaac Norris had been very prosperous in trade, which at that period offered uncommon facilities. His son Isaac Norris the Speaker succeeded his father in the possession of Fairhill, as he did in his talents, abilities, and public usefulness. As he was learned and fond of literature, he collected together a

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very good and extensive library. It was placed in a low building, consisting of several rooms, in the garden, and was a most delightful retreat for contemplative study; the windows curtained with ivy; the sound of 'bees' industrious murmur' from a glass hive which had a communication from without, and where their wonderful instinct could be viewed. Beautiful specimens of the fine arts and many curiosities were also collected there, the shelves were filled with the best authors, and materials for writing and drawing at hand. In this place Isaac Norris the Speaker spent all the time that his health would permit which was not devoted to public business."

At Belmont, just north of Lansdowne, lived Judge Peters, who for many years presided over the United States District Court in the early days of the Republic. He had planted and improved Belmont until it was a delightful spot. He had that genial humor, ease of manner, and fund of anecdote which old lawyers often acquire. This, added to his intelligence and ability, made him a much-sought companion in the society of that time. Washington was very fond of him, and when he lived in Philadelphia would often slip out to Belmont to enjoy a quiet talk with its owner and walk up and down the famous avenue of hemlocks. There was a large Spanish chestnut-tree on the grounds long afterward carefully preserved by the family because it had been planted by Washington.

In fact, it is impossible to look very long at the ruins of these old houses without seeming to see one of the fathers of the Republic, in his cocked hat and knee-breeches, step up and lay his hand on the door. The old yellow stable at the Woodlands, even in its decay, looks as if Washington's saddle-horse might be led out

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of it at any moment. From Bartram's modest little house up to the grand establishment at Lansdowne, there is scarcely a single one of these houses, scattered in a half-circle round Philadelphia from the Delaware to the Schuykill, in which Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Madison, and the distinguished generals of the Revolution have not dined and sipped their Madeira over and over again.

One of these worthies, John Adams, has left us in his diary some account of this life, which he seems to have enjoyed to the utmost. It was in 1774, when he was thirty-eight years old and a delegate to the Continental Congress which was to discuss the question of independence. The first important dinner which he mentions was at the house of Miers Fisher, a young Quaker and a prominent lawyer.

"We saw his library," he says, "which is clever. But this plain Friend and his plain though pretty wife, with her Thees and Thous, had provided us the most costly entertainment; ducks, hams, chickens, beef, pig, tarts, creams, custards, jellies, fools, trifles, floating islands, beer, porter, punch, wine, and a long &c."

The Quakers, it may be said in passing, while they forbade in their discipline all indulgence in sport, music, and the fine arts, were never known to do anything that would interfere with the art of dining.

Soon afterward Adams found himself at Cliveden, the home of Chief Justice Chew.

"We were shown into a grand entry and stair case, and into an elegant and most magnificent chamber until dinner. About four o'clock we were called down to dinner. The furniture was all rich. Turtle and every other thing, flummery,

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jellies, sweatmeats of twenty sorts, trifles, whipped sillabubs, floating islands, fools &c. and a dessert of fruits, raisins, almonds, pears, peaches. Wines most excellent and admirable. I drank Madeira at a great rate, and found no inconvenience in it." (Works, ii. 381.)

In another place he says, "A most splendid feast again—turtle and everything else;" and in still another passage, "A mighty feast again; nothing less than the very best of claret, Madeira and Burgundy; melons fine beyond description, and pears and peaches as excellent."

"A most sinful feast again! everything which could delight the eye or allure the taste; curds and creams, jellies, sweet-meats of various sorts, twenty sorts of tarts, fools, trifles, floating islands, whipped sillabubs &c. &c. Parmesan cheese, punch, wine, porter, beer &c. At evening we climbed up the steeple of Christ Church with Mr. Reed, from whence we had a clear and full view of the whole city and of Delaware River." (Works, ii. 370.)

From other diaries we gather additional glimpses of the life of plainer people. On considering these diaries as a whole, the most striking characteristic which runs through them all is the one already touched upon,—good markets, good living, extreme sociability, and ease of life. Hiltzheimer's diary is conspicuous in this respect, and is largely a record of those "mighty feasts" which made such an impression on Adams. Punch-drinking, beefsteaks and ale taken in true Saxon fashion at the city tavern, more elaborate dinners of friends at various houses and country-places, are mingled with his public business and the needs of his

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mares and cattle. He was a great fox-hunter, and his diary shows that there was a great deal of fox-hunting in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. On the 12th of December, 1767, he and his friends let loose a fox at Center Woods, which is now the intersection of Broad and Market streets, the site of the City Hall.

After the Revolution, when Philadelphia became the seat of government and the metropolis of the country, luxury and even extravagance became quite conspicuous. The Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, who was in America from 1795 to 1797, was much impressed by it.

"The profusion and luxury of Philadelphia on great days at the tables of the wealthy, in their equipages and in the dresses of their wives and daughters, are, as I have observed, extreme. I have seen balls on the President's birthday where the splendor of the rooms and the variety and richness of the dresses do not suffer in comparison with Europe; and it must be acknowledged that the beauty of the American ladies has the advantage in comparison. The young women of Philadelphia are accomplished in different degrees, but beauty is general with them. They want the ease and fashion of French women, but the brilliancy of their complexion is infinitely superior."

The Prince de Broglie, who was in Philadelphia in 1782, saw at least one instance of quieter scenes.

"On the 13th of August, 1782, I arrived at Philadelphia, the already celebrated capital of quite a new country. M. de la Luzerne took me to tea at Mrs. Morris', wife of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. Her house is small, but well ordered and neat; the doors and tables of

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superb, well-polished mahogany ; the locks and andirons of polished brass ; the cups arranged symmetrically ; the mistress of the house good looking and very gray. All was charming to me. I took some of the excellent tea and would have taken more I think, if the ambassador (M. de la Luzerne) had not kindly warned me at the twelfth cup that I must put my spoon across my cup when I wished to bring this warm water question to an end."

The commercial interest of Philadelphia is of course strongly shown in the diaries. The attention of modern Philadelphians is directed inland. They look to the railroads for everything, and by railroads are their wants supplied. But the attention of the colonists was toward the river and the bay. Nearly everything arrived and went that way. Their important letters and their important goods came from England or went there. The captains were the express agents and the mail-carriers. They carried little presents and packages to and fro. On the arrival of their ship half the town would besiege her to get the letters, until, weary of his crowd of tormentors, the captain would send all the letters ashore to be distributed at the coffee-house.

It was a common practice when people departed for England for some of their friends to accompany them as far as the capes. Passengers often went by land as far as New Castle, where they joined the ship. Often they were wind-bound and lay for days, or even weeks, at Reedy Island, waiting for a chance to put to sea. In returning, the ship was often so slow in beating up the river, that their friends found it convenient to go down and get them in a small boat.

Ocean travel was not then a few days of luxury with

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electric lights and sea chairs. Ships from England, in order to avoid the Gulf Stream, usually sailed south to the Madeira Islands, where fruit and fresh provisions were taken aboard; and thence the vessel was borne by the trade-winds to the coast of the southern colonies, which was followed up to the capes of the Delaware. Franklin describes his return from a mission to England by one of these voyages, which lasted nine weeks. Yet it was not without its compensations. He read many books, made experiments in science, and thought out problems in navigation. His ship was with a large fleet of merchantmen under convoy of a man-of-war.

"The weather was so favorable," he says, "that there were few days in which we could not visit from ship to ship, dining with each other, and on board the man of war."

The arrival of an East Indiaman was an affair of great importance to the town, and such vessels usually fired a salute as they entered the harbor. There were regular lines of packets to the northern and southern colonies, and also to England. The vessels to England were large and brought many emigrants. Marshall speaks in his diary of ships arriving with as many as six hundred passengers. The voyage was usually from thirty to fifty days.

The gayety and enjoyment of life in Philadelphia was fully indulged in by the Quakers, and they were famous for their good living. We must not judge of them between the year 1700 and the Revolution by what they were before or by what they are now. They had created the colony, were governing it in their own way, and were proud and conscious of their success. They

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were very much alive, and were taking a large part in the life of their time. Hiltzheimer's horse-racing, fox-hunting, punch-drinking, and city-governing friends were three fourths of them Quakers; and all of them were substantial citizens, better in every respect for their sympathy with the good things of life.

Stephen Collins is described by John Adams as a man of "figure and eminence as well as fortune," in Philadelphia, and though a Quaker "not stiff nor rigid." Adams often dined at his house, and declared that he never knew a more agreeable instance of hospitality. Indeed, it would be long to tell of the households and establishments of Mifflin, Dickinson, Norris, and other distinguished Quakers, and of the liberal manner in which they entertained the members of the Continental Congress in the early years of the Revolution.

The colonists were a happy and an honorable people. They were successful and rich. But they were not slaves to money. Most of them retired from business when they had secured a moderate fortune. Logan, Dickinson, and Norris, retired while comparatively young. Franklin retired at the age of forty-two, when he had laid by capital enough to produce about \$3,000 a year. In purchasing power this was equivalent to about \$10,000 or \$12,000 of our money. It was not in any sense a large fortune; but it was the fashion to be content with such prosperity.

In modern times a man in Franklin's position would go on accumulating, thinking that it was his surest road to position or power; but in the colonial era there was little to be gained from such a course. A man was more likely to become both popular and powerful by

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retiring; for these retired men were usually selected for public office and honors. Franklin, with his great ability for all kinds of business, could easily have gone on accumulating, and at the end of his life been a very rich man, but the world would have been poorer. He retired to devote himself more seriously to science, and was taken by his country for diplomacy.

The Philadelphia in which the colonists enjoyed themselves was as different from the modern city as those colonists were different from the present citizens. Penn had intended the streets to be well planted with trees and every house to be surrounded with a garden. He had planned, as he had expressed it, "a green country town;" one of those towns with which the Quakers were very familiar in the rural districts of England. His ideas were carried out; and far down into the present century Philadelphia was still remarkable for the number of trees in the streets. Before the Revolution and for some time afterward many of the houses stood far apart with gardens round them. Those busy thoroughfares, Fourth and Third streets, then contained many such homes surrounded with lawns and trees. Franklin's home was at one time on Second Street, near Race, and his garden extended to the river-bank, where in summer evenings he enjoyed his favorite amusement of swimming, remaining, he tells us, a long time "sporting in the water," and retiring to bed cool and refreshed.

Before Philadelphia was paved, narrow lines of flagstones were placed down the middle of each sidewalk and the gutters marked by rows of posts, about four feet high with rounded tops. Posts of this sort were

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still used to ornament certain parts of the city as late as the middle of the present century. The street pump was also a conspicuous landmark; and in some streets they appear to have been placed at regular intervals to help put out fires. The market-place had its whipping-post, pillory, and stocks; and women were often publicly whipped down to the time of the Revolution. The men who moved among these scenes would seem very striking and peculiar to our eyes, with their knee-breeches, low shoes, bright-colored coats, and powdered wigs surmounted with three-cornered hats.

One of the objects most familiar to them still survives in Christ Church. It was almost as old as the colony. Long before Independence Hall and other famous buildings had been thought of, the people had grown accustomed to the old church, and it seems to have been of more interest to them than any other building. When its chime of bells arrived in 1754, they were rung daily for some time to please the citizens; and for many years they were always rung on the evening before market day, to amuse the countrymen who had come to town. The interest of all the colonists of every sect in these bells seems rather curious. Probably the music reminded many of them of their old life in Germany or England. They were the second set of chimes in America, and seem for a long time to have supplied the place of opera and theatre. Captain Budden, who brought them out in the ship "Myrtilla," charged no freight, and the workmen who came from England to put them up would accept no pay. Ever after, it is said, when Captain Budden's ship arrived in the harbor, the bells were rung. They were rung on every public occasion,

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important or trifling, whether it was the arrival of the favorite captain or the repeal of an obnoxious law. For defeat in battle and the death of distinguished men they were muffled. They were the voice of the people.

Franklin was sent to England in 1764, carrying the petition to the crown for the abolition of the proprietorship. As soon as his arrival after a thirty days' voyage was known, the bells rang out clear and sparkling for the safety of the old philosopher whom the people alternately loved and abused. Some months afterward the Stamp Act was passed, and Franklin declared that he could no more have prevented it than he could have hindered the setting of the sun, and he took pains to have his old friend John Hughes appointed stamp-master for Pennsylvania. But the Philadelphians thought differently; and when the commission for the stamp-master arrived, their philosopher was in disgrace. The bells were muffled for him; and for hours their dull thuds resounded over the little town, more expressive of the people's discontent than the tongues of many orators.

The early events of the Revolution kept them busy; but when it became evident that the British would occupy Philadelphia, they were carefully taken down and carried to Bethlehem to be out of harm's way. Beneath their sounds Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and all the distinguished men of the Revolution, without regard to creed, have worshipped; and the whole Continental Congress assembled beneath them on July 20, 1775, the day appointed for fasting and prayer.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE RISE OF THE REVOLUTION

THERE is no doubt that Massachusetts and Virginia were the most active of all the colonies in forcing on the movement for independence. Which of the two was the more effective would be difficult to say. The Massachusetts people seem to have entertained the idea of independence some time before the Virginians, and were more clamorous about it, partly because they suffered more. The British government, believing them to be the most unruly, had selected them as an example; had sent regiments to occupy their principal town, fleets to blockade their harbor, and had passed Acts to change their government, long before any attempt was made to interfere with any of the other colonies.

The New England colonies of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were very much under the influence of Massachusetts, and followed her lead. In the other colonies, except Virginia, the people were for the most part in favor of nothing more than a redress of grievances. Independence they looked upon as an almost impossible, or at any rate, a last resort. This view prevailed to a considerable extent even in Virginia, but it was strongest in the middle colonies, especially Pennsylvania and New York. Massachusetts, however, intended independence from the very beginning.

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The reason for the more aggressive attitude of Massachusetts and Virginia is to be found in the events of their histories. The Puritans who settled Massachusetts Bay were a very united and a very peculiar people. They had definite ideas on religion and government which they had no hope of seeing carried out in the old world; and when they came to America, they intended to keep house for themselves. Their charter was extremely liberal; and for fifty years they enjoyed what was for all practical purposes absolute independence. They elected their own governor and all other officers; they made their own laws, and were not obliged to submit them to England for approval. They dropped the English oath of allegiance, and adopted a new oath, in which public officers and all the inhabitants swore allegiance to Massachusetts alone. Any one who refused to take this oath was banished or disqualified from holding office. They took upon themselves the sovereign attribute of coining their own money, and issued the famous pine-tree shillings. No appeals were allowed to the king or to the English courts. It was treason even to speak of them. By their definition of treason the king himself would have been guilty of it if he had attempted to interfere with Massachusetts.

But with the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, a definite colonial policy was adopted. Massachusetts' pretensions to independence were known, and demands were made for the surrender of her charter; but it was not finally cancelled until 1684. From that time Massachusetts was under royal government and suffered more annoyance than was ever inflicted by the pro-

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prietors on Pennsylvania. When William III. came to the throne there was a rebellion in Massachusetts which restored for a short time the old order of things; but royal government was almost immediately restored under a charter from the crown, which abolished everything that was dear to the Puritan heart.

With such a history, having enjoyed all the sweets of absolute liberty for fifty years, having lost them, having gained them again by a rebellion, and having lost them again, it is easy to see that Massachusetts had a training which gave her a greater thirst for independence than was to be found in Pennsylvania or any other colony. When the movement for the Revolution began, Massachusetts needed no encouragement. She was in it already, and she grasped at the idea of independence before the others had thought of it.

Virginia was somewhat in the same state of mind. She did not begin with independence, like Massachusetts, but she gradually acquired it. In 1631 her House of Burgesses declared that the governor could neither raise money nor levy war except by their consent; and two years after they deposed the governor and appointed another. When Cromwell came into power Virginia made an agreement with him which is more like a treaty between two independent nations than the surrender of a colony. Free trade to all parts of the world is guaranteed, and no customs or taxes are to be levied, and no forts maintained in the colony, without the consent of its General Assembly. After the Restoration, when the royalists were in control, the people rebelled, and under the lead of Nathaniel Bacon overthrew the royalists' party and got complete control for

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a time of the colony. But after this rebellion was crushed, Virginia, like Massachusetts, was held down with an iron hand. The Virginians, like Massachusetts, had enjoyed the blessings of liberty, had had it taken away from them, had rebelled to regain it, and had lost it again.

The training of both these colonies for the final event of the Revolution had been very different from that of Pennsylvania. The Quaker State had been founded in the time of Charles II., when the stringent policy of colonial control had been adopted, and she had been held down by the double power of proprietor and king. Yet in spite of this control her charter had been so liberal and her prosperity so great that she had never suffered from tyranny. She was doubly controlled, and yet she suffered none of the inconveniences of control. She had no independence, but she had very liberal and easy laws. She was not accustomed, like Massachusetts and Virginia, to associate ease and prosperity with the idea of independence. She had never been afflicted with any of the interferences which had goaded those two commonwealths to desperation. She had never been trained into a violent temper by having enjoyed absolute independence at one time and having endured absolute tyranny at another.

Among the other colonies some, like Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, were under the leadership of Massachusetts. The southern colonies, Maryland, Georgia, and the Carolinas, were for redress of grievances rather than independence; and the middle colonies, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York, were also for a mere redress of grievances. New York was

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strongly Tory and the least inclined of all the colonies to enter the Revolution. But New York, as well as Delaware and New Jersey, would be much influenced by the action of Pennsylvania, which, after Massachusetts and Virginia, was the most populous and powerful colony. In fact, Pennsylvania was the leader of the conservative element. What the middle colonies would do depended largely on her. Massachusetts and Virginia, if they wished to carry out their extreme views, must win Pennsylvania to them; and this was the beginning of those events which in the next fifty years gave our State the name of Keystone.

The greater part of Pennsylvania's population was not of the sort that goes into a revolution hastily. The Scotch-Irish were of course in favor of the Revolution from the very first suggestion of it. They had been nourished on such events, and their appetite was still keen. But they were far removed from the seat of government, and until actual fighting began, their influence was slight. The eastern Presbyterians had also considerable ardor, but were more or less conservative.

The Quakers, so far as concerned redress of grievances and peaceful measures of opposition, were second to none. No sect or division of the English race was more deeply imbued with a love of liberty and a complete understanding of its principles. Their history in England and their conduct in framing the government of Pennsylvania and resisting the proprietors shows this abundantly. They were inclined, however, to pursue liberty in their own way; and as the movement passed from constitutional opposition against stamp acts and

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tea acts to acts of violence and war, there was a strong tendency among them to drop out of it.

The Germans in the early stages of the Revolution were rather indifferent to it. Many of them were so unfamiliar with the English language and English customs that they could scarcely comprehend the points of the dispute. They were aware, however, that evil and tyranny of some kind were threatened, and they relied for guidance on the Quakers, who had brought them to Pennsylvania and given them a home and liberty. It was, therefore, all the more important that the Quakers should join the Revolution.

When it came to actual fighting, the sects like the Mennonites, Tunkers, and others, which held the same opinions about war as the strict Quakers, assumed the same neutral position. Some of them left the country after the Revolution, refusing to live under a government established by force. But the greater part of the Germans belonged to the Lutheran and Reformed churches. They had no particular objection to soldiering, and, though they took no very conspicuous part in the contest, may be said to have done their share, and furnished Muhlenberg, who was an able general.

The Episcopal element was also rather conservative. Many of its clergy were Tories. Some of them, however, were in a state of mind favorable to the Revolution, but unwilling to take an active part in it. The laity were more zealous for the cause, but were very much influenced by their liking for the proprietors and their connection with the established government of the province.

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As a conservative, Pennsylvania was first in the field for a redress of grievances, and the first adequate expression of the colonial position was made by one of her citizens, and he was a Quaker. The "Farmer's Letters," by John Dickinson, were a wonderful success. They first appeared in December, 1767, when the serious interferences of the British government had been in agitation for about three years. During that time the Sugar Act and the Stamp Act were passed, and the Stamp Act repealed, and in its stead an Act passed putting a tax on paint, tea, and glass.

Massachusetts, prompt as usual, had suggested a convention of delegates from all the colonies to consider the first two of these acts. This convention met in New York, Oct. 5, 1764, and has usually been known as the Stamp Act Congress. It was there that Dickinson showed the first signs of leadership in continental politics. He drafted the convention's resolutions, which have since been known as the First American Bill of Rights.

These resolutions were too short and general to be convincing to any but those already convinced. There was not enough detail in them. The mass of the people needed light. They wanted to have the subject opened out for them. They were discontented; but they scarcely knew how to express themselves. They knew their liberties were in danger, but they could not tell exactly why. The lawyers seemed to think they knew, but their language was unintelligible. In fact, it required eight more years of training and thought before many of the people were at all competent in this respect. The condensed feeling and reasoning of the Declaration

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of Independence could not have been framed into words in the year 1767.

The repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 had quieted the country. The people felt that their agitation against that measure had been successful, and that their liberties were safe. But in June, 1767, a little more than a year after the repeal, an Act appeared putting a tax on all paint, paper, tea, and glass imported into the colonies. It was not so directly burdensome as the Stamp Act, and at first the people seemed unable to understand that in principle it was just as bad as the Stamp Act.

It was in this state of affairs that the "Farmer's Letters" awoke the country with a bound. The exact legal and constitutional relations between the colonies and the mother-country were vague. Even Dickinson himself when in the convention at New York in 1764 failed to state them in a way to impress the people. The effort, however, seems to have refreshed him; for three years later, when he made the same attempt as a farmer, instead of as a lawyer, the people ceased to hesitate.

The title of his book was fortunate. The farmers were by far the largest and most important class in the community. Next in importance was the shipping interest. The manufacturers and the classes peculiar to great cities were not worth counting. The farmer's point of view was such a successful hit that any one who searches much in historical collections finds imitations of Dickinson's letters for half a century afterward. The opening sentence was captivating. "I am a farmer," he said, "settled after a variety of fortunes near the banks of the Delaware in the province of Penn-

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sylvania." His farm was small; his servants few and good; he had a little money at interest; he wished for no more. He had had a liberal education, and had been in the busy scenes of life, but was now content to live without bustle, in easy employment, which allowed him the enjoyment of his library and the friendship of intelligent men. What a hearing must the man receive who could thus idealize the most important class in the country! For homely, beautiful simplicity these first pages could scarcely have been excelled by Franklin.

The great question at that time in the ordinary mind was this: "You say England will oppress us. Possibly. But exactly how will she do it? What will she do next?" Dickinson answered these questions. Most of us are now well accustomed to the thought that the colonists rebelled, not against actual suffering, or against high taxes, but against the assertion of the right to tax them. Dickinson was the first man who stated the details of this doctrine in plain language.

You made a great fuss about the Stamp Act, he says to the farmer, because it was direct taxation; but you were silent about another equally dangerous one, which suspended the legislative power of the Assembly of New York, because the Assembly had refused to vote supplies of salt, pepper, and vinegar for the British troops. If Parliament has the right to punish us for not furnishing pepper, it can punish us for not furnishing clothes, and continue this course until it compels us to furnish everything; and what is that but taxation in another form? What signifies the repeal of the Stamp Act if Parliament retains such a right as this?

Why do you not complain of the recent Act, taxing

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paint, paper, and glass? It is not so direct as the Stamp Act, but just as bad. Some of you say that we can avoid its burdens by making our own paper and glass. But England has always had the right to prohibit any manufacture among us, and has exercised that right, as you know, in the case of iron and steel. All she need do, then, is to lay a tax on some article she prohibits us to manufacture, or prohibit us from manufacturing some article she has taxed; and what can we do? Do you not see that the moment you admit the principle that England has a right to tax any articles she sends to us, you have surrendered everything?

He reached a climax when he showed the colonists the real object of the tax on paper and glass. The amount of money it would raise was trifling. But the Act expressly declared that any revenue that was raised should be devoted to maintain the administration of justice and civil government within the colonies, and to defend them. At that time the only political liberty left the colonies, since Charles II. inaugurated the more stringent policy of control, was that their assemblies voted the money necessary to carry on each government, and pay judges and governors their salaries. England could in most cases appoint the governors, but they were dependent on the colonists for the means to administer their office, and pay for their board and lodging. The colonists never hesitated to use this check, and, as we have seen, would withhold supplies until they obtained from the governor what they wanted, even when they brought the whole civil machinery to a stand. Their right to do this may be called the funda-

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mental principle of colonial constitutional law. Scarcely a year passed without an attempt by the crown to break it. Scarcely a governor sailed for the colonies, without instructions in his pocket to obtain from the people a fixed and permanent sum for the support of all the offices.

But what would become of this constitutional principle if England had the right to levy taxes as she pleased on the colonists to be used in support of their own governments? The governors' salaries would become fixed, the judges' salaries fixed, the appropriations for administration fixed; or if increased it would be not by vote of the assemblies, but by Parliament levying more taxes. What governor would call a meeting of an Assembly when both his salary and the expenses of his office were secure? Or if an Assembly met, what would it have to do? "They may perhaps be allowed," said Dickinson, "to make laws for the yoking of hogs or pounding of stray cattle. Their influence will hardly extend so high as the keeping roads in repair, as that business may more properly be executed by those who receive the public cash."

There is often a great reward awaiting the man who will condescend to be simple about great things. Never before, and never after, was Dickinson so simple in his language and so near to a pure literary form. The "Farmer's Letters" were his one stroke of genius. America and the civilized world were at his feet. The letters were reprinted in England and translated in France. Eulogies poured in from all sides. At a public meeting called at Faneuil Hall in Boston, Hancock, Samuel Adams, Warren, and others, were appointed a committee

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to write him a letter of thanks. They exhausted their vocabulary in such praise as few public men have ever received.

"Though veiled from our view," they say in concluding, "you modestly shun the deserved applause of millions, permit us to intrude upon your retirement, and salute the Farmer, as the friend of Americans and the common benefactor of mankind."

For the next eight years, until the Declaration of Independence, Dickinson was the most influential and important public man in America. This sudden elevation was rather unfortunate; for, added to his already hasty temper, it turned his head. He was only thirty-five when he wrote the "Farmer's Letters," and he soon became arrogant and impatient of contradiction. Feeling that he had shaped the whole thought of America at an important crisis, he could see no merit in the plans of others. He aspired to manage the whole revolutionary movement, became more defiant than ever of popular opinion, and in the end lost all his influence.

Events moved on. The colonists were busy persuading one another to sign the non-importation and non-exportation agreement, which seemed the only peaceable way to cut out the taxes which England was levying on every article that entered or left the country. What was known in England as "the insolence of the town of Boston" increased. Long known to the British government as an aggressive independent colony, Massachusetts now seemed to be the leader of the continent in evil example. The ministry resolved to subdue her; and a man-of-war and two regiments under General

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Gage were sent to Massachusetts Bay. From that time all the severe measures of the home government were aimed at Boston. It was the one thing needed to complete her education in rebellion.

Pennsylvania and the other colonies suffered nothing. They were still conservative, still saw before them a long line of peaceful, constitutional measures of opposition, and at the end a dim outline which some said was the shadow of independence.

In 1770 came the Boston Massacre, when Gage's soldiers fired upon the citizens of the town. Up went the Massachusetts blood to fever heat. But Pennsylvania, though sending messages of sympathy, was not yet for war.

About a month after the Boston Massacre, the tax on paint, paper, and glass was repealed, but allowed to stand on tea. This repeal quieted the apprehension of most people. The conservative measures of resistance seemed to have been successful; and the fame of the Farmer and his Letters was greater than ever. The tax on tea was a trifle. The people could avoid buying and drinking it until Parliament got tired of its foolishness.

But Boston, as we know, was a little violent in rejecting the tea; and in the next year, 1774, came the Boston Port Bill, which locked up the harbor of that devoted city, and brought its business to a stand. Massachusetts had now reached the end of her rope. She had three courses open to her,—submit, starve, or break out in open rebellion. She preferred the last, but could not manage it alone. She could rely on Virginia, however; and if she could only win Pennsylvania, the

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rest would follow. So May 19, 1774, Paul Revere arrived in Philadelphia to persuade the Keystone to take its place in the arch.

The principal letters which he carried from the leaders in Boston were addressed to Joseph Reed and Thomas Mifflin, who were at that time believed to be the least conservative of the public men of Philadelphia. Reed was from New Jersey, and had been settled in Philadelphia only about four years. He was a lawyer, trained, after the manner of the times, in the English inns of court. His interview with Paul Revere was the beginning of his long career in politics. He became a general in the Revolution, and was always closely attached to Washington's military household, preferring that position without pay to the more lucrative employments that were offered him.

Mifflin was a thorough-bred Philadelphia Quaker of the commercial class; a man of some wealth, living in a large handsomely furnished house, where he entertained with the liberality that was then fashionable. He appears to have been a very vigorous and handsome man, the very opposite of Reed, who was thin and pale and seldom in good health. His portrait shows a certain refinement and delicacy of features which was not uncommon among the Quakers.

Like most of the Quakers who took to fighting, Mifflin made an excellent soldier. He commanded the best-disciplined brigade in the Continental Army. Having come of a sect that always talked peace, he was, by a natural process of reaction, very eloquent in talking of war, and was at times sent to raise recruits by his oratory. He is one of the neglected Pennsyl-

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vanians, and is now almost forgotten, although he filled a very conspicuous place in his lifetime. Besides his distinguished military career, he was President of the Continental Congress, a member of both the State and National Constitutional Conventions, President of the Supreme Executive Council, and three times Governor of Pennsylvania.

These men, together with Dickinson, Ross, Clymer, Thomson, McKean, and others, made up the liberty party in Philadelphia. Perhaps the most important man of all was Charles Thomson. He has been called the "Sam Adams of Philadelphia," by which was meant that he watched and nursed the liberty movement day and night in small things as well as in great. He had come to Pennsylvania from Ireland when quite young, and had been well educated under Presbyterian influences by the Rev. Dr. Francis Allison at New London. He became a scholarly man, interested himself in the Indians, and was elected by the Delawares a member of their tribe. They called him "the man of truth;" and his reputation in this respect seems to have been unusual. It was for a long time a saying in Pennsylvania that a statement was as true as if Charles Thomson's name was under it..

He wrote a translation of the Septuagint, which attracted some attention in England. He was one of those careful, quiet, accurate, and absolutely faithful men, who are none the less valuable for their lack of brilliancy. He was made the Secretary of the First Continental Congress, and remained in that position all through the Revolution and for many years after. He was considered indispensable. He knew everything

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and was in a certain sense the secret service department of the government. He kept notes of all his knowledge and experience, from which he wrote a history of the Revolution. If we could now read this production of the man of truth, it would probably alter a good many very firmly fixed opinions. But unfortunately Thomson, with characteristic delicacy, burnt his manuscript, because he feared that much of it would hurt the feelings of certain families.

Ross and Clymer were, like Thomson, very conspicuous men in their day, with long careers in Assembly, Continental Congress, and constitutional conventions, and now almost forgotten.

The liberty party were in a peculiar position. They had to be very shrewd and cautious. They could win applause and distinction neither by violent action nor by violent speech. They had opportunities neither for "tea parties" nor orations on the eternal rights of man. The child of liberty which they were nursing could bear no noise. If they were to build up their party with recruits from Quakers, Episcopalians, and Germans, they must move slowly and with cold and calculating sagacity.

Thomson, Reed, and Mifflin took charge of Paul Revere and his mission. Their first object was to secure Dickinson, for his name must be at the head of every committee. A great deal has been written outside of Pennsylvania touching the motives for the slowness of Dickinson on this occasion. But we prefer the testimony of Charles Thomson, who was an eye-witness and an actor in those events. Some years afterward he wrote a long letter to W. H. Drayton of South Carolina, in which he described the whole affair.

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Dickinson, he says, had for some time been convinced that the attempt of the ministry to force the tea on the colonies would end in bloodshed. He had, therefore, been reserving himself until matters became more serious, in order that he might then carry greater weight with the Quakers and other conservative elements. These elements courted and relied on him because of his former moderation, and it was important that he should retain their regard. When the Boston Port Bill was passed, he made up his mind that the time of action had come; and he was preparing a series of letters for the public when Paul Revere arrived.

The difficulty the liberty party experienced in assisting Revere and getting a public meeting for him is well described by Thomson: —

“As the Quakers, who are principled against war, saw the storm gathering and therefore wished to keep aloof from danger, were industriously employed to prevent anything being done which might involve Pennsylvania farther in the dispute, and as it was apparent that for this purpose their whole force would be collected at the ensuing meeting, it was necessary to devise means so to counteract their designs as to carry the measures proposed, and yet prevent a disunion, and thus if possible bring Pennsylvania with its whole force undivided to make common cause with Boston. The line of conduct Mr. D. had lately pursued opened a prospect to this.”

Preparations must have been made immediately on the arrival of Paul Revere, for the meeting was held the next day. It was at first suggested that a certain friend of Dickinson should propose radical measures,

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and that Dickinson should reply to him and propose more moderate measures, which would be carried. A few hours before the meeting, Thomson, Mifflin, and Reed dined with Dickinson to arrange further details. Dickinson continued to play the conservative, and only after much pressing consented to attend the meeting. The ever-watchful Thomson thought he saw a difficulty with Reed, who disliked to play a second part. He, therefore, suggested that Reed should open the meeting, which satisfied everybody, and the Revolution was begun.

Reed and Mifflin departed early, so as to attend the meeting without seeming to have been with Dickinson; but the careful Thomson remained to bring Dickinson.

The place where this important meeting was held was in the long room of the city tavern, on the west side of Second Street just above Walnut. It was an attempt to get together only the prominent people of the city, and between two and three hundred were present. Reed addressed the meeting in moderate but pathetic terms. Mifflin followed, more impassioned, and with all the warmth and fire of the budding Quaker soldier. Then Thomson spoke, still more impassioned, and pressed so hard for an immediate declaration in favor of Boston that, having had no sleep for several nights, he fainted and was carried out into an adjoining room, leaving behind him an uproarious assembly, shocked beyond control at the violence of the measures proposed.

This was Dickinson's opportunity, and he doubtless acquitted himself well. But when Thomson had recovered and returned to the room, pale and weak, it

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was still in an uproar which he had not strength to allay. He, however, found voice enough to move for a committee to write an answer to Boston. Each party handed a list to the chair; and the clamor was renewed until some one was wise enough to suggest that the committee should be composed of the names on both lists. The meeting broke up, and each party retired, thinking they had partly carried their point.

The next day, May 21, some of the committee met again at the city tavern, and Provost Smith wrote the letter. It was in the provost's easy, swinging style, full of kind feeling for Boston, and contained some very emphatic declarations of American rights.

"If satisfying the East India Company, for the damage they have sustained, would put an end to this unhappy controversy and leave us on the footing of constitutional liberty for the future, it is presumed that neither you nor we could continue a moment in doubt what part to act; for it is not the value of the tax, but the indefeasible right of giving and granting our own money (a right from which we can never recede), that is now the matter for consideration."

The provost went on to say that in the short time allowed them they could not collect the entire sense of so large a city; and even if they had collected it, the city was not authorized to act for the whole province. But they would as soon as possible collect the sentiment of all the people as well as of the neighboring colonies. As to remedies, they recommended a general congress of deputies from all the provinces.

This letter and resolutions were given to Paul Revere, and he returned to Boston, by no means discouraged

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with the success of his mission. Copies of the letter and resolutions were sent generally throughout the country.

The meeting at the city tavern had been a comparatively small one, but it had been successful, and, so far as it went, had committed the province to liberty. The next step was to have a general meeting of all the inhabitants of the city at the State-house, and coax the Quakers to go still farther. This was difficult, because they had an aversion to town meetings of any sort, as tending too much to excitement. But Thomson and the others finally arranged it with them, and even got them to assist in preparing the business for the meeting, which was held June 28, 1774, a little more than a month after the arrival of Paul Revere. Dickinson, Willing, and Pennington were the presidents; and Provost Smith, Reed, and Thomson made speeches.

These speeches were written out beforehand and revised by the presidents. The provost's speech shows the effect of this revision. It is more concise and restrained than usual. It was well calculated for the occasion. It assumes that the people would be too hot and eager, and the speaker seems to be quieting them and urging moderation.

The meeting was successful. Resolutions were passed, making common cause with Boston, and denouncing the measure which had closed her port. The governor was asked to convene the Assembly. A Congress of all the colonies was recommended. A committee of correspondence was appointed for Philadelphia, which was to communicate with the county committees throughout the province.

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These county committees had been established some months before by the leaders of the liberty party, with the design of gradually bringing the whole body of the people into the dispute. Their organization was now completed by this Philadelphia meeting, which created a committee in chief in the city. It was believed that this system would represent the province and act in the place of the Assembly, which, under the leadership of Galloway, was supposed to be largely Tory, and not likely to be called together by the governor. It had been necessary to pass resolutions urging the calling of it, in order to quiet the pacific spirits, and persuade them that the province would not be finally involved without the consent of the regular representatives of the people. But it was shrewdly calculated that the committees, acting as a convention of all the people, would either force the Assembly into the movement, or if it refused act in its stead.

The Congress of all the colonies, ever afterward known as the Continental Congress, assembled at Philadelphia in September, 1774, with Galloway, Rhoads, Mifflin, Humphreys, Morton, Ross, and Edward Biddle representing Pennsylvania. None of them took a very prominent position in that session. In October, shortly before the Congress adjourned, Dickinson's friends procured his election to the Assembly, and the Assembly immediately added him to the delegates in Congress. He took at once a leading part. Congress adjourned about a week after he took his seat, and yet everything important that was done in that Congress was done by him. He drew the famous petition to the king, and also the address to the people of Canada. These papers

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set forth the rights and liberties of America in a manner which aroused admiration even in England.

In the intervals of his Congressional duties, he still labored, with Thomson and the others, to win over the Assembly and bring Pennsylvania as a unit into the struggle. The difficulties to be overcome, and the state of opinion in the province at that time, could scarcely be better described than in Thomson's simple language:

"The part they had to act was arduous and delicate. A great majority of the Assembly was composed of men in the proprietary and Quaker interest who though heretofore opposed to each other were now uniting, the one from motives of policy, the other from principles of religion. To press matters was the sure way of cementing that union and thereby raising a powerful party in the state against the cause of America. Whereas, by prudent management and an improvement of occurrences, as they happened, there was reason to hope that the Assembly, and consequently the whole province, might be brought into the dispute, without any considerable opposition. And from past experience it was evident that though the people of Pennsylvania are cautious and backward in entering into measures, yet when they engage none are more firm, resolute, and persevering. A great body of the people was composed of Germans; the principal reliance was on them in case matters came to extremities. And it is well known these were much under the influence of Quakers. For this reason, therefore, it was necessary to act with more caution, and by every prudent means to obtain their concurrence in the opposition to the designs of Great Britain. And had the Whigs in Assembly been left to pursue their own measures, there is every reason to believe they would have effected their purpose, prevented that disunion which has unhappily taken place and brought the whole province as one man, with all its force and weight of government, into the common cause."

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In other words, the Pennsylvania leaders of the liberty party required time, and to be let alone, if they were to swing into line the whole of their cumbersome and slow population of Quakers and Germans. That it was largely a question of time is shown by the success of their efforts, as they moved along, step by step. Dickinson, returning from the Continental Congress, was able to persuade the Assembly to approve all the proceedings of the Congress, in spite of the opposition of Galloway and the party that were fast drifting into Toryism. The Assembly was at that time a rather permanent body. Many of the members had held their seats in it for a long time, and this length of tenure gave them an importance and position in the community which they were loath to lose. Rather than lose their seats, they would suffer themselves to be led on, step by step, by outside pressure, until they had gone too far to retreat.

Their steps might have been much quickened by circumstances, or "occurrences," as Thomson calls them. If they could have been made to suffer like the Boston people; if the ministry had sent a war ship, or a few insolent regiments, to Philadelphia, or done anything to irritate that human nature which lurked beneath the Quaker religion, — the movement would have been much more rapid.

But even without suffering or interference of any kind, and moved by their sympathy for the other colonies, and their belief in American liberty, they were progressing in the cause as well as could be expected. In the winter of 1774-75, although most of them were Quakers, they had voted a sum of money to purchase

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ammunition. In the following summer after the battle of Lexington, and when they knew that war and violence were inevitable, they nevertheless allowed themselves to be persuaded to arm the inhabitants, and ordered five thousand new muskets. They even went further, and, to pay for these muskets, ordered bills of credit to be struck for £3,500, and pledged the credit of the province for their redemption, which, as Thomson remarks, was in effect an assuming of sovereign power and a declaration of independence.

Even Reed believed that the Quakers would ultimately be won over. They will wait, he said, "until they see how the scale is likely to preponderate; then, I doubt not, they will contribute to the relief of Boston, and appear forward in the cause." A month later we find him writing to Lord Dartmouth that the Quaker Assembly had adopted all the measures of Congress, and had refused to obey the request of the governor to repair the barracks for the British troops. Such conduct he seemed to consider not only remarkable for a people who always professed to act a passive part, but also very hopeful.¹

The mistake Reed made was in not waiting longer for the Quakers. He could not see the importance of educating and coaxing them. Having recently come from New Jersey, he was not as familiar with their history and character as Thomson and Dickinson. He saw so many signs of their earnestness that he believed that if the radical party forged ahead and was successful, the Quakers would follow. But he little knew their pride and stubbornness, and their devotion to the government

¹ Life, i. 86, 88, 89.

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of Pennsylvania, which they had controlled so long. The leaders in Congress from the other colonies unfortunately made the same mistake, or else were determined that if they could not have the whole of Pennsylvania, they would have a fraction, and have that fraction at once. They set to work to destroy not only the Assembly, but the whole Constitution of the State. This fabric, except the proprietary part of it, was very dear to the Quakers. If it was to be changed, they must change it themselves. When it was attacked and destroyed, all hope of their joining the party that had attacked it was gone.

When the Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in September, 1774, the men who, it was feared, would make trouble by their precipitancy were the delegates from Massachusetts. John Adams and his colleagues had to be very self-controlled in that short autumn session of the Continental Congress of 1774. They had to watch their opportunities and insinuate their ideas through others. The Virginia and South Carolina delegates were the most congenial to them. But, on the whole, they found the condition of affairs, even among the Quakers, as favorable as could be expected; and they were soon absorbed in that round of gayety which led Adams to describe Philadelphia as "the happy, the peaceful, the elegant, the hospitable, and the polite."

He had scarcely arrived in town before Dickinson called on him in his coach with four beautiful horses. Adams described him as at first sight a thin, sickly man, suffering from the gout, and looking as if he might not live six months; but a close inspection revealed

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signs of vitality and force which promised a longer life. He also met Dr. Smith, the provost, whom he describes as a plain, tall man, rather awkward, with an appearance of art.

Adams made friends rapidly, and Dickinson was the best of all. They opened their minds to each other. He describes in his diary a dinner with the two champions of the cause, Dickinson and Thomson, with no one else present but Mrs. Dickinson and her niece. "A most delightful afternoon we had," he says, "sweet communion indeed."

So well did he progress among the dinners and suppers, the Burgundy and the port, that by the 17th of September he declared that he was convinced that America would support Massachusetts or perish with her. This was the day when the Suffolk resolutions were passed in Congress, assuring Boston of sympathy. "I saw," he writes his wife, "the tears gush into the eyes of the old, grave, pacific Quakers of Pennsylvania."

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CHAPTER XXII

THE MOVEMENT FOR INDEPENDENCE

THE year from the spring of 1775 to the spring of 1776 was crowded with momentous events, and yet the people were uncertain, and not yet committed to a struggle for independence. The battle of Lexington was fought in April, and Bunker Hill in June. Ticonderoga and Crown Point were captured; Arnold invaded Canada by way of Moosehead Lake, and Montgomery by way of Lake Champlain; and in the attack on Quebec Montgomery was killed. The British forces were meantime shut up in Boston by a New England army, which had been adopted as the Army of Congress, and over which Washington had been placed as Commander-in-Chief.

All this looked very much like war; and yet the people argued that it was merely defensive, and they were not yet at war with England, because they had sent another petition to the king, and were again waiting for the result. But they were gradually moving toward the idea of independence, and the Quakers were moving as rapidly as any of them; for it was in the summer of this year that they voted to arm the people, and ordered new muskets and bayonets. Thomson, Dickinson, and Mifflin were in the Assembly, and leading them on step by step.

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Dickinson had great faith in this policy, and, like Thomson, he believed that in time Pennsylvania would be brought into the Revolution as a unit. He had no patience with the Massachusetts delegates who were trying to force the issue. His plan of action was for all the colonies to keep abreast and move to independence as a solid phalanx. "Nothing can throw us into a pernicious confusion," he writes to Quincy, "but one colony's breaking the line of opposition by advancing too hastily before the rest."

It was in this same year 1775 that Tom Paine's pamphlet "Common Sense" appeared. Paine was a reckless young English stay-maker, never able to prosper at any calling, but concealing within himself a spark of literary genius. He seems to have had a fairly good education and to have been well informed on the events of the day. Upon Franklin's recommendation he had come to Philadelphia, where he now, with the encouragement of Dr. Rush, prepared the few pages which fired the American heart. This was eight years after the "Farmer's Letters" had appeared; and the difference between Dickinson's argument and that of Paine shows how far the people had advanced.

Dickinson had found it necessary to explain to the colonists their constitutional relations with the mother-country, and to point out how their liberties were endangered by the new attitude assumed by Parliament. He satisfied their minds on this point, and at the time Paine wrote they were hesitating to take hostile measures against their mother, only because they still had a lingering sentiment and affection for her, and

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were doubtful whether they could live by themselves. It was this sentiment that Paine attacked.

"But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families; wherefore the assertion, if true, turns to her reproach."

Wherever he found opportunity he sneered at this relation of mother and daughter, and also at that feeling, so universal among the colonists, which led them always to speak of England as home. He had much to say of the "Royal Brute of Great Britain," as he called the king. Government, he declared, was a necessary evil, and the less of it the better; but society and the people were the true source of all things political.

"In England a king hath little more to do than to make war and give away places, which in plain terms is to impoverish the nation and set it together by the ears. A pretty business indeed for a man to be allowed eight hundred thousand sterling a year for, and worshipped into the bargain! Of more worth is one honest man to society and in the sight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived."

Simple, vigorous sentences like these expressed what many Americans had already begun to think, but hardly dared to utter. And when he went on to show in the same manner that it was repugnant to reason that this continent should be properly governed by a little island three thousand miles away, that the satellite was already larger than the planet, he struck a chord tightly strung for his touch, and which still vibrates as we read his words.

The spring of 1775 brought Franklin home. For

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ten years he had been in England, where he had been sent in 1764 by the popular party to change the province into a royal government. That project he soon abandoned. Within a few months after his arrival he was plunged into the Stamp Act controversy, and within a few years discovered that the king, to whose tender mercies he had intended to intrust Pennsylvania, was the worst of all enemies of American liberty.

He opposed the Stamp Act by every means in his power; but when it was passed he supposed the people would submit to it. He was greatly surprised to hear of their indignation meetings; and on the 9th of August, 1765, he wrote to his friend, John Hughes, a letter which has never yet appeared in any edition of his works:¹—

“ Since my last I have received your favor of June 20. The account you give me of the indiscretion of some people with you concerning the government here I do not wonder at. 'Tis of a piece with the rest of their conduct. But the rashness of the Assembly in Virginia is amazing. I hope however that ours will keep within the bounds of Prudence and Moderation; for that is the only way to lighten or get clear of our Burthens.

“ As to the Stamp Act, tho' we purpose doing our endeavor to get it repealed, in which I am sure you would concur with us, yet the success is uncertain. If it continues your undertaking to execute it may make you unpopular for a Time, but your acting with coolness and steadiness and with every circumstance in your Power of Favour to the People, will by

¹ The manuscript of this letter is in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

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degrees reconcile them. In the meantime, a firm Loyalty to the Crown and faithful adherence to the Government of this Nation, which it is the Safety as well as Honour of the Colonies to be connected with, will always be the wisest course for you and I to take, whatever may be the madness of the Populace or their blind leaders, who can only bring themselves and Country into Trouble, and draw on greater Burthens by Acts of rebellious Tendency."

But as months passed by, and fresh information kept arriving from America, he allowed himself to be instructed, and, in his next important public act, his examination before Parliament, he completely changed his ground. This examination, in which he so emphatically, and with such perfection of reasoning, declared the ability as well as the willingness of the people to resist taxation, astonished the whole civilized world. Burke always said that the scene reminded him of a master examined by a parcel of school-boys. In that one day Franklin added a new domain to his greatness. He had been the philosopher and the Pennsylvania politician. He was now a diplomatist and a statesman.

But still he did not believe there would be war, and when at last convinced that he must return home, he expected to be back in England the following October and soon afterward see the final settlement of the controversy. He had been away ten years; and what years they had been! What work, what enjoyment, and what a capacity for work and enjoyment! The efforts he made as agent for the colonies seem mere incidents among the researches and experiments in science, the attendance at meetings of learned societies,

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the clubs, the dinners, the chess-playing, the long delightful conversations with the greatest men of the age, the visits to country-houses, and the journeys in England or on the Continent. As he returned slowly on his six weeks' voyage, he explored the pet object of his research, the Gulf Stream, discovered that it was not phosphorescent, and guessed successfully at its source and cause. It was on this voyage that the idea occurred to him of shortening a ship's voyage by sailing her on a circle of the earth's diurnal motion.

While engaged in these happy occupations, the battle of Lexington was fought, and he heard of it as soon as he stepped ashore. The next morning the Assembly elected him a delegate to the Continental Congress. Contact with the people, or the news of the battle of Lexington, seems to have rapidly dissolved his conservatism. In a few days he joined the radicals, and his hopes of returning to settle the controversy in October were forgotten.

This year, 1775, also saw the provost again in politics. Since his activity at the time of Paul Revere's mission he had been silent for more than a year and a half. But now, on the 23d of June, 1775, he preached a sermon in Christ Church which attracted wide attention. He had been asked to preach it by the third battalion of Associators, commanded by Col. John Cadwalader. In asking him, they doubtless intended to accomplish something more than to hear an eloquent discourse. He was closely connected with the proprietors, was the natural leader of the American clergy in the Church of England, was supposed to have a bishopric in expectation, and was strongly suspected

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of Toryism. It would be important, as well as interesting, to make him put himself on record. Such a bold and aggressive man, when challenged in this public manner, would not be likely to halt between two opinions.

Not only the battalion, but all the members of Congress and a large concourse of people assembled to hear the great orator, and it was a most powerful, impressive sermon, and as strongly on the side of the patriots as could be desired. It was printed, ran through edition after edition, and was reprinted in several editions in England.

Eight months afterward he was again called upon, and this time by Congress itself, to preach a funeral oration in honor of General Montgomery and the officers and soldiers who had fallen with him in the expedition against Canada. It was a fine occasion for an orator. The attack on Canada, so full of heroic daring, partially successful, and yet on the whole a failure, had roused the feelings of the people to the utmost. Several Pennsylvanians had been killed, and among them Capt. John Macpherson, the promising son of the old merchant privateersman and owner of the country-seat Mount Pleasant.

For the appointed day, the 19th of February, 1776, the provost prepared himself most carefully,—in fact, too carefully. He was to have before him, not only Congress, but the Assembly, the city authorities, the people, and the army. He collected all the gentlemen of Philadelphia who were inclined to music, and sent to Lancaster and New York for others. These were to form a choir, with instruments, which was to take up

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and sing the poetical passages in the oration as soon as the Doctor began to quote them.

It was altogether a remarkable performance, and quite unusual in the colonies. But the extremists in Congress were offended because the provost congratulated his hearers that the Americans had not begun the war, and were still willing to make peace if their liberties were secured. In fact, the extremists had expected him to help break down the majority in Congress, which was still rather conservative. John Adams spoke of the oration as an "insolent performance." It is difficult, however, to see how he and others could object in face of the passage which followed immediately after the one of which they complained.

"But suppose these terms cannot be obtained? Why then, there will be no need of further arguments, much less of aggravations. Timid as my heart perhaps is, and ill-tuned as my ear may be to the din of arms and the clangor of the trumpet; yet in that case, sounds which are a thousand times more harsh — 'even the croaking of frogs in the uncultivated fen,' or the howling of wild beasts round the spot where liberty dwells — would be 'preferable to the nightingale's song,' in vales of slavery, or the melting notes of Corelli in cities clanking their chains."

The truth of the matter was that the Massachusetts delegates, finding matters going too slow for them, had now for some months been in an open quarrel with the conservatives. John Adams and Dickinson no longer spoke to each other; and Samuel Adams is said to have proposed uniting the New England colonies into a confederacy and making a break for independence.

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What was actually done, however, was the passage by Congress, on May 10, of the recommendation to all the colonies to change their constitutions, and adopt new governments suited to the new conditions. It was supposed that the strength of the conservatives lay in the old charter governments; and if they could be broken up, the feeling for independence would spread.

This may have been a good recommendation for some colonies, but it was not for others. Connecticut and Rhode Island rejected it, and retained their original charters until far down into the present century. In Pennsylvania it made more Tories than patriots. It was an attempt to force the people against their will, when they were gradually moving in their own way and of their own accord.

Our Assembly, though composed of Quakers, had already in effect broken with Great Britain. They had ceased to submit laws to the governor, and carried on the affairs of the province by passing resolutions. It was in this way that they voted supplies of muskets and ammunition, and pledged the credit of the province to pay for them. They appointed a council of safety to be the executive of the province, and act in the place of the governor, whom they now entirely disregarded. He acquiesced in their treatment of him, made no attempt to govern, and soon returned to England.

These same Quakers in the Assembly were also preparing to repeal the naturalization laws and the laws requiring the oath of allegiance to Great Britain. They had increased the representation and given more members to the western counties. They were organizing a voluntary militia system. On the 8th of June,

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1776, as the desire for independence had greatly increased, they resolved by a large majority to bring in new instructions to their delegates in Congress, who had heretofore been instructed not to favor independence.

The Assembly was in effect a convention of the people. Its members were elected annually, adjourned as they pleased, and could not be prorogued by the governor. They could be as easily changed, and made to conform to the will of the people, as any convention, and in fact they were gradually being changed, and were leaning more and more toward the popular side. There was not the reason for abolishing their functions that there was in some colonies, where the Assembly was entirely in the control of a royal governor who remained at his post. The Pennsylvania Constitution was in every respect as well suited to the exigencies of the Revolution as the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and should have been retained, as those were.

But the extremists, led by Reed, Rittenhouse, Franklin, Dr. Rush, and McKean were determined to destroy every vestige of the Constitution and charter. They were resisted by Dickinson, Wilson, Robert Morris, Thomson, Mifflin, and the whole body of the Quakers, as well as large numbers of conservatives from other divisions.

These men, during the two years preceding the spring of 1776, succeeded in staving off the change. But when Congress, May 10, 1776, recommended the change, the movement became too strong for them. Mass meetings of the extremists were held, calling on the Assembly to abdicate its functions. The officers

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and men of the five Philadelphia battalions, which had been organized by the Assembly, declined to recognize the authority of the body that had created them, and declared that it should appoint no more officers over them. The various committees of safety and correspondence, which had been created to develop the revolutionary movement, were called upon to take charge of the State and call a convention to frame a new Constitution. All these committees met together in Philadelphia on the 18th of June. They assumed themselves to be the supreme power of the State, issued the call, and provided for the method of electing the convention.

The violence and success of these proceedings were captivating to many minds, and the Assembly was fast dying of exhaustion. On the 14th of June it met to pass the new instructions to the delegates in Congress, but found it had not the necessary two thirds to form a quorum. The extremists had persuaded enough members to stay away, and persuaded them so successfully that they never appeared again. The Assembly repeatedly attempted to meet for the next two months: but a quorum was never present, and toward the end of August it breathed its last. The charter and institutions which William Penn had established, and which had endured for nearly a hundred years, were gone forever.

And what was gained? What did the extremists gain after their convention had forced upon the people the instrument known as the Constitution of 1776? They gained nothing which they would not have had without it, and without it they might have had a great

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deal more. They lost the Quakers forever. Those stubborn, quiet people, who had made Pennsylvania, and ruled it for nearly a century, could be led, or persuaded, or would go of their own accord; but they would not be driven. As a sect, they withdrew from the Revolutionary movement altogether, and their example influenced many of the other conservatives to do the same.

This was the end of the political power of the Quakers. They never again controlled a legislature, and never again shaped the policy of the State. They disappeared entirely from government, and became a mere social influence, which for the next fifty years was of some importance, and after that declined.

The Convention of 1776 which created a new Pennsylvania was a curious body, and an interesting instance of American skill in government. It combined within itself the functions of legislature, governor, judicial department, and constitutional convention. It had no sooner met, with Franklin as president, and the Rev. William White, afterward bishop, to open the first session with prayer, than it set to work to pass laws and declare Pennsylvania an independent State. It appointed delegates to Congress. It ordered the people to take out their window-weights and clock-weights, and sell the lead in them for bullets. It deprived the non-combatant Quakers of their weapons. They had refused to use them, and they must be given to those who would. It regulated the jails, and released all prisoners convicted of minor offences. It controlled the Associators, as the militia were called, and heaped heavy taxes on non-associators and non-combatants.

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If the Quakers and Germans would not fight, they should at least pay the expenses of those who did. It appointed a Council of Safety and Conservators of the Peace to take charge of the State, and it adopted laws defining treason and counterfeiting. It made a temporary agreement with Virginia about the disputed boundary line. It was a magnificent example of the instinct of the Saxon race for self-government. With a stroke of the pen it abolished the ancient fabric and tore it out root and branch, and then deliberately and coolly began to build up another.

All the time that it was passing laws, and regulating the daily concerns of the new State, it was also deliberating on the provisions of the new Constitution, which it finished and gave to the people at the close of September, 1776. This instrument shows very clearly how the American mind gradually evolved its ideas of government from the old colonial charters to the National Constitution of 1789. The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 shows our constitutional ideas in a crude state of development. It contained many things which are now believed to be useless. The executive power, instead of being committed to a single governor, was given to a council of twelve,—one to be elected by each of the eleven counties and the twelfth by Philadelphia. The president of this council was to be chosen by the legislature. The legislative power was given to one body, called the General Assembly. There was no provision for a second house or senate. But the most curious department of all was the Council of Censors, whose duty was to watch over the Constitution, report infractions of it, and act the part of general critic and

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scold. It was a clumsy contrivance, and was never successful.

The only prominent men in the convention were Ross, Clymer, Rittenhouse, and Franklin. There were no great lawyers, and no one of any great skill in constitution-making. Many passages in the instrument seem to remind us of the simplicity of Franklin's mind. Rittenhouse was chairman of the committee that drafted the Constitution, and doubtless had much influence in shaping many of the clauses. So far as this Constitution was not the product of the average intelligence and opinion of the time, it may be said to be the work of an astronomer and a philosopher.

The convention was in session from July 19 to September 28, and the new government went into operation in November, 1776. The effect on the State was very unfortunate. The Constitution had never been submitted to the people. It turned out of power and influence, not only the Quakers, but the proprietary party and all the men who, like Willing, Allen, Morris, Dickinson, Norris, and others, had long occupied positions of prominence and importance. It set them more than ever against the Revolution. Instead of dealing justly with their interests and sentiments and leading them toward the Revolution, as it should have done, it shocked and violated their feelings and turned their self-interest away from independence. It made many of them Tories, and the wonder is it did not make more. Its absurd provisions for a twelve-headed executive and a council of censors, and the neglect to submit it to popular vote, gave them a chance to ridicule it, and to say that it was a usurpation and had been forced on the people without

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their consent. Two parties immediately arose,—the Constitutionalists, composed almost entirely of a new set of men, unused to power, who were determined to stand by the new Constitution, and the Anti-Constitutionalists, composed of the old leaders and former men of prominence who wanted the Constitution amended.

The agitation which produced the new Constitution had been contemporaneous with that other agitation which had for its object the Declaration of Independence. These two movements forced Pennsylvania prematurely into the Revolution and destroyed all possibility and hope of her people acting as a unit.

In the spring of 1776 the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress was composed of Franklin, Dickinson, Robert Morris, Wilson, Willing, Morton, and Humphreys. They had been instructed by the Assembly to advocate redress of grievances and a permanent constitutional settlement, but not to favor independence. The delegations of most of the other colonies were under similar instructions. But in May, 1776, the desire for independence had become so strong that the two or three colonies which had been all along secretly in favor of it began to speak of it openly; and to the great delight of Massachusetts, Virginia opened the ball, May 22, by instructing her delegates to urge an immediate declaration. In obedience to this instruction Richard Henry Lee, on June 7, offered in the Continental Congress his famous resolutions.

The subject was hotly debated for the rest of the month. Seven of the colonies were in favor of Lee's resolutions, and six were against them. The majority in favor of the resolutions was composed of the four

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New England colonies, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. The minority led by Dickinson was made up of Pennsylvania, South Carolina, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware.

The objection of the minority was entirely one of policy. They believed independence was inevitable, but that the time had not yet come for proclaiming it. The colonies were not yet sufficiently united; the desire for independence not yet sufficiently wide-spread; and there was no prospect of a foreign alliance to give hope of success to our arms.

The Congress set to work to remove as many of these objections as possible. A committee was appointed to prepare the Articles of Confederation, which, it was believed, would unite the colonies sufficiently to withstand the shock of war. Another committee was appointed to prepare a plan for treaties with foreign powers. Dickinson was on both of these committees, drafted the Articles of Confederation, and also the plan for the treaties. Thus far every important national state paper had been the work of his hands. His opposition, or conservatism, whichever it may be called, had produced the Articles of Confederation, the first real American Union, without which the Revolution could not have been carried on.

It was absolutely essential that the vote for independence should be unanimous; and its advocates used every means in their power to win over the minority. Special efforts were made in the colonies that had not yet changed their instructions to their delegates. Members of Congress left Philadelphia to visit these colonies and arouse the people. As the month of June wore on,

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one colony after another fell into line and changed their instructions. Even the Quaker Assembly of Pennsylvania voted new instructions just before its functions were destroyed by the convention. By the end of the month every colony, except New York, had given to its delegates authority to vote for independence. The large majority being agreed, the only question was one of time, and how long the time of announcing independence should be delayed was the difficult question.

Dickinson and nearly the whole Pennsylvania delegation were for delay, and for the old reasons,—lack of unity and lack of allies. They were doubtless largely influenced by the position of affairs in their own State. The Quakers and many of the conservatives were already lost by premature measures, and by an attempt to force opinion. Another hasty move might alienate others from the cause. Many of the old proprietary party were hesitating and watching events. If let alone for a while, they would develop into patriots. The numbers of the patriot party were increased every day by men who were thus developing; but to try to force such men into the contest would be to drive them from it altogether.

The 1st of July was the day fixed for the final decision. The debate lasted nine hours; and when the vote was taken, in committee of the whole, all the colonies were in favor of Lee's resolutions, except four. South Carolina and Pennsylvania voted directly against them; Delaware was equally divided, and her vote could not be counted; New York, being still uninstructed, refused to vote. The committee of the whole was about

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to report this result when Rutledge of South Carolina moved an adjournment to the next day.

The final decision was thus postponed from the 1st of July to the 2d; and the object of Rutledge was to secure in the intervening time a greater unanimity. Up to that time Franklin was the only one of the Pennsylvania delegation who was in favor of an immediate declaration. The remaining delegates, Robert Morris, Dickinson, Wilson, Willing, Morton, and Humphreys, were against it. But on the 2d of July, Wilson, after much hesitation, decided to vote with Franklin, and Morton followed suit. Willing and Humphreys continued to vote against it; but as Morris and Dickinson absented themselves, the vote of Pennsylvania was carried for the Declaration by three to two. Delaware, whose vote had been evenly divided, was brought over to the side of the Declaration by the arrival of Cæsar Rodney; and South Carolina was also persuaded. The New York delegation, being still without fresh instructions, declined to vote.

Thus independence was declared by an almost unanimous vote on the 2d of July, and not on the 4th, as is usually supposed. The document which we now call the Declaration was adopted on the 4th, as a public expression of what had been decided on the 2d. The vital question had been on Lee's resolutions, which were a short, simple statement declaring the colonies independent.

Neither the passage of Lee's resolutions, nor the document adopted on the 4th, aroused much excitement in the country. The Sessions of the Congress were secret; scarcely any one knew what was being de-

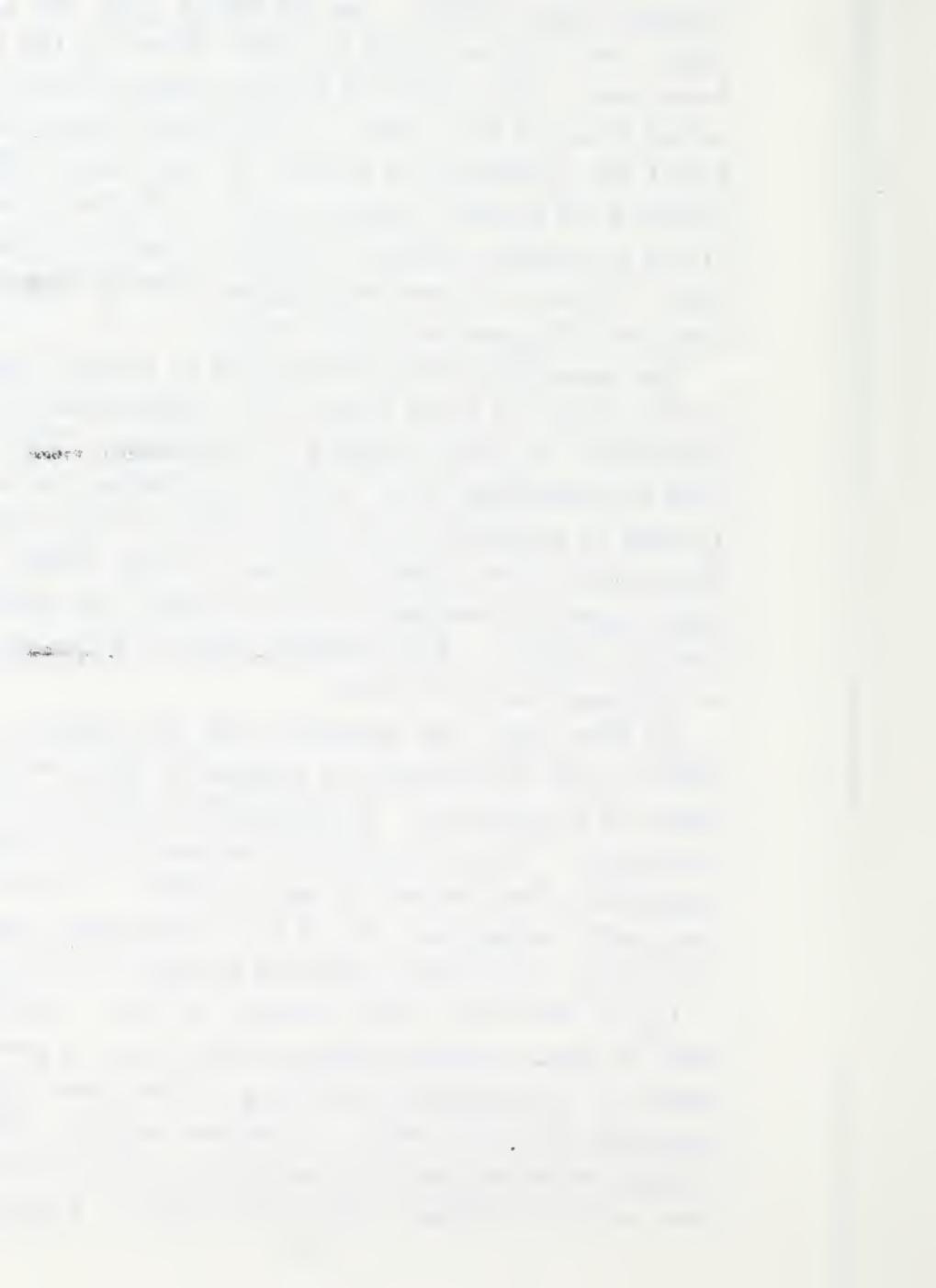
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bated; and when the final result was made known, it was received very quietly. On the 8th of July the Declaration was read at length by John Nixon in the Statehouse yard. Mrs. Deborah Logan, sitting at the window of her house at the corner of Fifth and Library streets, heard the reading, and records in her diary that few people were present, except some of the lower orders. It was not made a matter of much ceremony or importance. It had not then been signed; and the signatures were not all appended until August.

The reason for this apparent lack of interest was that in the minds of most people the Declaration was not considered as very decisive of anything. The point that was troubling their minds was whether we should be able to contend in arms with Great Britain; and the Declaration was valued only as it would assist us, in that respect, by making us more united, and getting us foreign alliance. The dramatic side of it was not then as apparent as it is now.

As time wore on, however, and the people looked back at the Declaration, it seemed to them more and more of a landmark. It became the starting-point for a new era. As the Revolution became more and more successful, they learned to take a pride in it, and they gradually substituted for Lee's resolutions and the 2d of July, the formal document adopted on the 4th.

Up to the time of the passage of Lee's resolutions, and for some months afterward, there was no particular mark of unpopularity attaching to the men who had opposed the Declaration. This was natural; for most of the colonists had all along been in favor of making war on Great Britain, not for the sake of a permanent



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separation and independence, but for the sake of settling disputed questions, and forcing a closer constitutional union which would better secure American rights and liberties. Robert Morris, although he had opposed the Declaration, and refused to vote for it, was nevertheless re-elected to Congress on the 20th of July. He still thought the Declaration a mistake, and on the day of his re-election wrote "that in his poor opinion it was an improper time, and that it will neither promote the interest nor redound to the honor of America, for it has caused division when we wanted union." Wilson was also re-elected, although he had steadily opposed the Declaration, and voted for it only at the last moment.

Dickinson was not so fortunate. The convention, which had now usurped the functions of the legislature, and represented the extremists, declined to send him back to Congress; and Willing and Humphreys also failed of re-election. The new delegation elected by the convention was composed of Franklin, Morris, Wilson, Dr. Rush, Morton, Clymer, Ross, James Smith, and George Taylor, and these men appear as the signers to the Declaration.

As the idea of independence became more popular, and every one felt that the country was committed to it, the men who had opposed it in the last days of June began to suffer in reputation. Even Wilson, who had voted for it at the last moment, and Morris, who had finally signed the declaration of it, came in for a good share of abuse. But Dickinson, who never wavered in his opinion for a moment, was the worst sufferer, and soon became the object of the most virulent, cruel, and unjust attacks that the camp followers of a revolutionary

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party, fresh in power, can heap upon a worthy citizen whose eminence they envy.

The convention, by destroying the Assembly and the whole fabric of the old government, had brought into authority, or prominence, a set of men to whom political power was a new thing. Many of them were decent people; but the same movement which raised them into light brought with them a set of scribblers and adventurers, who in times of peace would be either in jail or obscurity. Such men gratify the strongest passion of their natures when they feel that they are undermining, by innuendo and inference, the people who have long been held respectable. All through the Revolution, and for twenty years after, we had among us a swarm of these vermin. Their existence is not usually made apparent in Fourth of July orations; but all who have examined the original authorities of that time are painfully aware of their presence.

The year and a half which followed the Declaration of Independence justified many of the doubts of Morris, Wilson, and Dickinson. Disasters and defeats followed each other in rapid succession, relieved only by the small success of Washington at Trenton. It was not until the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga that a change came, and help from Europe. With such a victory before her eyes, France within a few months recognized our independence and sent a fleet to assist us. This was in exact accordance with the prediction of Dickinson, that it would be the success of our arms, and not a mere paper declaration, which would bring us foreign recognition and alliance.

The friends and admirers of Dickinson cannot help

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wishing that he had followed the example of Wilson, and saved himself from abuse by voting for the Declaration on its final passage. But if he had done so he would not have been John Dickinson. He was consistent to the last; and when years afterward a picture was to be painted of the members of Congress at the time of the Declaration, he refused, though several times urged by the artist, to allow his face to appear among them. "The truth is," he wrote, "that, as I opposed making the Declaration of Independence at the time it was made, I cannot be guilty of so false an ambition as to seek for any share in the fame of that Council."

Consistency, however, did not drive him to sulk in his tent. Within a week after the Declaration was made he led his regiment to Elizabethtown to confront the enemy, then invading New York. He was colonel of the first battalion, which, by the law of that time, gave him command of the whole body of Pennsylvania militia. But before he marched for New York his enemies succeeded in nominating two brigadiers to be placed over him. He felt the indignity, and spoke of it in an address he made to his battalion, telling them at the same time that as they were going at once into active service, he would pass over the affront and lead them on their tour of duty.

Arrived before the enemy on Staten Island, he had the entire command for the rest of the summer, and exerted himself to the utmost in disciplining the raw troops and preventing desertions. When the troops returned, he returned with them, and retained his commission as colonel until the convention confirmed the

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nomination of the two brigadiers, when he immediately resigned.

As the autumn of 1776 wore on into December, it became more and more evident that the British would take Philadelphia, and the families of patriots be exposed to insult or worse. Dickinson gathered together his family, and retired to his farm near Dover in Delaware. He was in effect exiled; for although he went away voluntarily in a certain sense, the abuse that was heaped upon him had made Pennsylvania too hot to hold him. He returned some years afterward to vindicate himself; but he never again regarded Pennsylvania as his true home. It was in Delaware that he carried out his intention of becoming a common soldier. With a musket on his shoulder, the gouty high liver, who drove his coach and four in Philadelphia, joined a militia company, and remained with them through the campaign which ended with the battle of the Brandywine.

For this service he was made a brigadier-general of Delaware. Except McKean, he was the only member of the Continental Congress that saw actual service. Delaware sent him to Congress in 1779 by a unanimous vote of both branches of her legislature, and the next year elected him president of the State.

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CHAPTER XXIII

WAR

THE year 1777 was one of great confusion in Philadelphia, — a confusion which continued to the end of the Revolution. The die was cast. There was no longer any use in debating about independence. It had been declared, and was to be fought for, and war was in the gates.

The sick and wounded soldiers came pouring into the city, and hospitals had to be improvised in private houses and public institutions. Camp fever and the other diseases of crowding and dirt raged among them. Two thousand were buried in Washington Square, close along the line of Walnut Street, — that strange plot of ground which has received, at one time or another, the bodies of paupers, Indians, and Continentals.

But as the scenes of war and destruction increased, Philadelphia became gayer than ever. The fluctuations in prices, and in the value of the Continental money, gave opportunities for speculation and the acquisition of sudden wealth which had never been known before. The paper currency gave an impression that money was plenty, or cheap, as it is called, and the whole community became demoralized and reckless. Tories and Whigs set to work to enjoy themselves. For seven years the town was full of

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soldiers and uniforms; sometimes the red coats of the British, sometimes the buff and blue of the Continentals. Congress was there, foreign ministers, and distinguished men. Never, before or since, has the town been so thoroughly interesting as it was for those seven years, — “an attractive scene of debauch and amusement,” as Richard Henry Lee described it. It would have been difficult at that time to have found a city, even on the Continent of Europe, where one could have seen so much and such varied life.

The same sort of thing was going on in Boston and New York on a smaller scale; but the metropolis and seat of government naturally had more of it.

“When I was in Boston last summer,” wrote General Greene, “I thought luxury very prevalent there; but they are no more to compare with those now prevailing in Philadelphia than an infant babe to a full grown man. I dined at one table where there were an hundred and sixty dishes.”

As the value of the Continental money fell, and prices of necessaries rose, there were great complaints of suffering; but extravagance and amusements apparently increased all the more. People who were in the thick of the excitement, entertaining lavishly, and sending their daughters to every ball, wrote letters of great distress, in which they said they must soon quit this scene of frightful expense; but there is no record of their having gone. Franklin’s pretty daughter writes to her father, in France, of the shocking prices she pays for everything, — fifty dollars a yard for gauze, six dollars for a pair of gloves, and £200 for a cloak and hat. But what was she to do when she was

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asked to spend the day with General Washington and his wife, or the evening at the French ambassador's. Next winter she must retire and take to spinning again. But she appears to have continued buying what she wanted, and teased her father to send her more things from France.

By the close of the year 1776, men began to show their true colors. Galloway turned Tory, and went over to the British at New York. So did the Allen family, and many others. Some, who were Tory at heart, remained; and there was an immense body of people, numbering many thousands, who also remained, and whose position was peculiar.

A large part of them were Quakers, who were unquestionably neutral, and took neither one side nor the other. Individuals among them may have been Tories. But there is no doubt that the mass of the Quakers lived up to what they professed, and assisted neither party. The rest of this peculiar class were the members of the Anti-Constitutional party, — men who favored the Revolution, but who had been driven from their old power and position by the Constitutionalists, and were now objects of suspicion and dislike. Even men like Robert Morris and Wilson, who were prominent in national councils, and earnest Revolutionists, were classed with these people, and came in for their share of the jealousy and distrust of the Constitutionalists.

Others were men like Thomas Willing, who in Congress had voted against the Declaration of Independence to the last, who believed in the Revolution, but not in the way it was being conducted in Pennsyl-

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vania, who was respected by both sides, and whose high character and popularity saved him from annoyance. Others were men like Provost Smith, who hoped the Revolution would be successful, but would not take an active part in it. There were all kinds and shades of opinions of this sort, — some of them now rather hard to understand; and there were also the indifferent ones, who were waiting till it was all over, and would be very well content with any sort of settlement.

It would have been better, of course, if all these people had been on the side of the patriots, and acting as a unit in conducting the Revolution. But to accomplish that desirable result, it would have been necessary to recreate Pennsylvania from the beginning, and make it a homogeneous commonwealth instead of a commonwealth of races, sects, and factions.

The Constitutionalists had already tried to convert these conservatives by force, and had failed. So they decided to try again. They determined to make treason odious, and during the summer of 1777 arrested about forty prominent persons, in the hope of striking terror into the rest. It is probable that about seven out of the forty were Tories. John Penn, the late governor, and Benjamin Chew, the late chief justice, were doubtless fair specimens of that class. But the rest were merely Quakers, conservatives, and indifferents; and among them, unfortunately, were many members of the best families in the State. Drinker, Pemberton, Wharton, Hunt, Bond, Gilpin, Roberts, Emlen, Kuhn, and Provost Smith are some of the well-known names on the list.

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About half of those arrested gave their parole and were discharged. The parole was a promise that they would neither do nor say anything to the injury of the United States. Among these was Provost Smith. There does not appear to have been the slightest ground for suspecting him. He believed the Declaration of Independence to have been premature, and had advocated delay. Beyond this there was no more reason for arresting him than there was for arresting Robert Morris or any of the other members of Congress who held the same opinion. But the provost was always in trouble.

The British, having defeated Washington at New York, and driven him across the Jerseys, decided to take Philadelphia, — the capital of the colonies, and the seat of their Continental Congress. For that purpose a force, under General Howe, was landed at the head of Chesapeake Bay to proceed northward. The destination of this force was not at first known. Great preparations to start were made by the British in New York; but it was not apparent whether they would go up the Hudson or out to sea. Washington waited in New Jersey; and when it became evident that they had gone to sea, he marched into Pennsylvania, as it was possible they might intend to come up the Delaware. When he discovered that they were in the Chesapeake, he placed himself between the head of that bay and Philadelphia, determined to give them battle. His final position was on the east side of the Brandywine, at Chadd's Ford.

The Brandywine, at that part of its course, has a general direction north and south. On the 10th of

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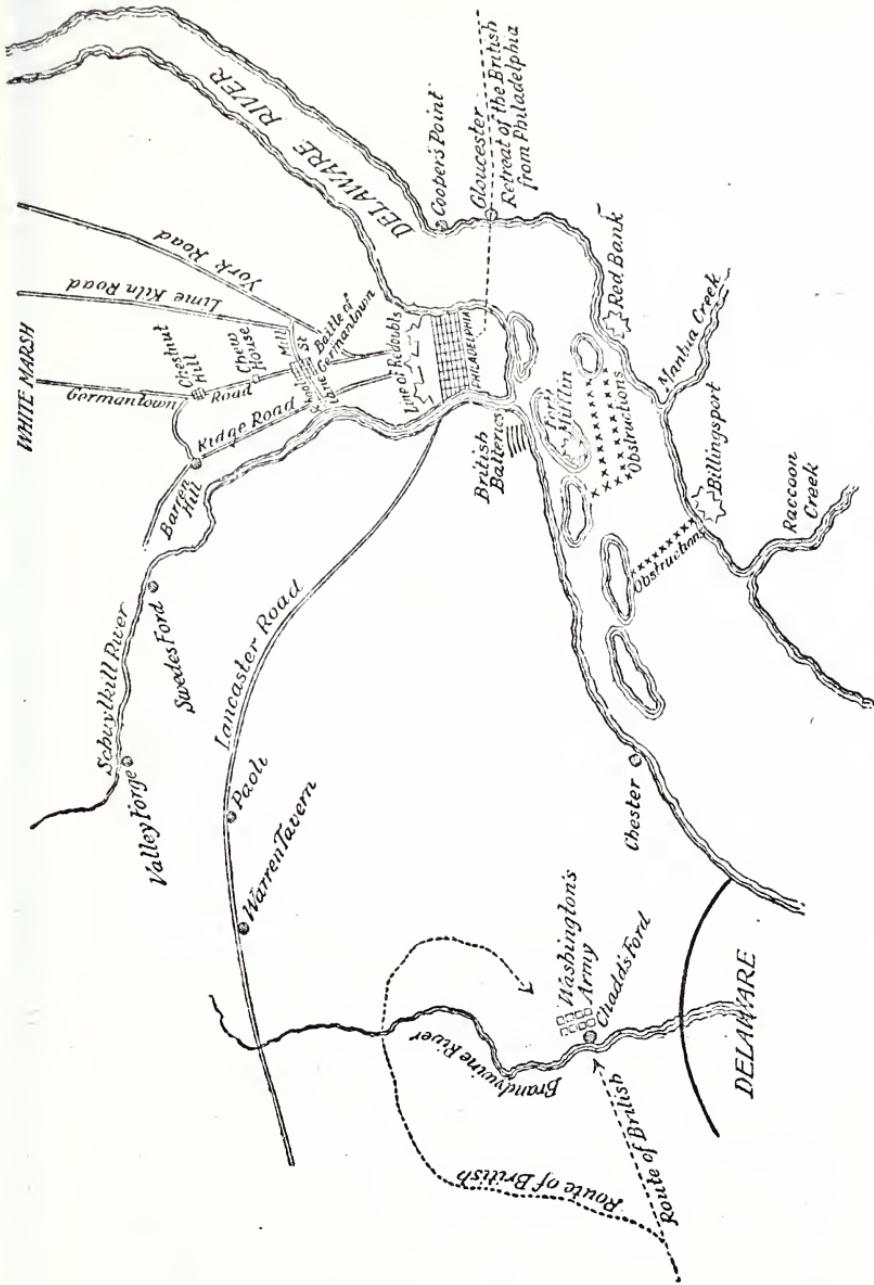
September, 1777, the British were at Kennett Square, directly in front of Washington's position, and to the westward of him, with the little river between them. The British numbered about eighteen thousand men, and the Americans about eleven thousand.

A road ran direct from the British position at Kennett Square to Washington's position at Chadd's Ford; and on the morning of September 11, at nine o'clock, about one quarter of the British army, under Knyphausen, marched along this road, and soon engaged Maxwell's men, who were across the river as an outpost. Driving them back, Knyphausen secured himself on the west side of Chadd's Ford, and began, with great vigor and much display of force, to cannonade Washington's position on the east side.

It was only a ruse. The main part of the British army had started much earlier in the morning, made a long détour to the northward, crossed the Brandywine at a ford so high up that it had been thought unnecessary to guard it, and were marching down on the American flank. The movement had been much assisted by a dense fog.

Washington, after having been amused by Knyphausen all morning, got word of the manœuvre to the north of him about noon, and immediately decided to cross the Brandywine and attack Knyphausen with his full force. He could easily defeat him, and would then be in a position to deal with the main body, that would be demoralized by finding their enemy in a new position and their ruse a failure.

If this had been done, the course of history might have been very much altered. But before he could



BATTLE FIELDS OF PHILADELPHIA.

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execute the movement, Washington got word from General Sullivan that the British were not coming by the northward way, so he remained where he was. The enemy were shortly upon him from both sides, and the day was lost. He retreated as best he could, — a few of his men, under Armstrong, falling back to Chester, and the main body crossing the Schuylkill, and encamping in Germantown. The wounded were sent in all directions, and, among others, young Lafayette, with a ball in his leg, to the Moravians at Bethlehem.

Immediately there was a great alarm and scattering in Philadelphia. Cattle and horses were driven off; church-bells taken down and sunk in the river, or carried away to hiding-places. The floating bridges on the Schuylkill were removed; large vessels taken up the Delaware; small boats of all kinds hidden in the Jersey creeks, and those that could not be taken away burned. The public books and papers were taken up to Easton, on the Lehigh. The Whigs moved out with their families and goods, and the Tories complacently remained.

But the British, though only twenty miles away from the city, spent two weeks in getting into it. In fact, it was by no means easy for them to get in. Philadelphia lay in the forks between two rivers, a strong situation, selected by that man of peace, William Penn. The British would have to cross the Schuylkill, and how were they to do it? The floating bridges were all taken away. Washington and his army lay at Germantown, whence they could easily cover any of the fords; and an army in the act of crossing a deep stream is easily defeated by a much inferior force. It

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was a crisis. All the results of the defeat at Brandywine might be removed. If the British could not cross the river, they would have to retire ignominiously to their ships at the head of the Chesapeake; and if they were defeated in an attempt to cross, they could be driven back to their ships, harassed, and perhaps routed on the way.

As the British could not hope to force a passage of the river in the face of Washington's army, it became a question of wits and manœuvring between the two commanders. Howe's object was to entice Washington to the western side, and then slip behind him, and cross the river. To this end a detachment of the British went to Wilmington and Chester, and the main body moved northward to the Lancaster turnpike near Paoli, whence they sent a party to Valley Forge to destroy the stores there.

Wayne was camped, with fifteen hundred men, near the Paoli Inn, and, on the night of September 20, the British attacked him, rushing into his camp, killing and wounding, with their bayonets, three hundred of his men, and taking over seventy prisoners. This massacre at Paoli, as it was ever afterward called, from the ruthlessness of the slaughter, was a great shock to the feelings of the patriots. It was the first and also the last time that Wayne was ever surprised.

Washington, not altogether wisely, thought he could do something with Howe on the other side of the river, and he marched from Germantown, and crossed the Schuylkill to attack him. He followed the Lancaster turnpike, and met the British at the Warren Tavern, a little west of Paoli. But a rain-storm coming on,

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the ammunition of both parties was wet, and the battle could have been fought only with swords and bayonets, which neither side seemed inclined to risk.

The British, however, saw their opportunity of getting easily into Philadelphia; and in the night they attempted to slip off and cross the Schuylkill at the Swedes Ford, a little below Valley Forge. Washington was on the watch for this move, reached the ford ahead of them, and, crossing to the other side, presented an insuperable barrier.

But Howe was still able to outwit him. He made a feint of marching up the west bank of the river, apparently to get a crossing higher up; and when he had the Americans following along the opposite shore, he slipped his whole force across the Swedes Ford. He was now between the rivers, and had, in effect, taken Philadelphia. He moved down to Germantown September 25, and on the 26th entered the city.

The whole campaign was most disastrous. Washington's force was, it is true, inferior to the British; but a little luck, or, rather, a little accurate information, might have enabled him to win the battle of the Brandywine. After that, he still had a chance, and might have prevented the British crossing the Schuylkill, or have inflicted a severe defeat upon them while they were in the act of crossing; but he was distinctly outmanœuvred by Howe, both at Brandywine and at the ford. The unfortunate affair of the ford was regarded by many as inexcusable, and was the principal cause of the attempt to remove Washington, and place the successful Gates in command.

The Hessians, who were always put to the front in

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everything, were the first to enter Philadelphia, marching in with terrible looks and fierce mustaches, dressed for the occasion, and their music seemed to thunder out plunder, plunder, plunder! The English grènadiers were very different. They entered in an easy, good-humored manner, with none of the airs of the conqueror. To a little lad, who ran up to the front rank as it halted for a moment in the street, some of them said, "How are you, my boy?" and several shook hands with him. The little fellow had been heart-broken at the sight of the awful Hessians. But the tranquil faces of the Englishmen restored him, and he remembered their pleasant, manly words to his dying day.

Most of the army had marched in from the north by Second Street, and they followed that street down until they had crossed Dock Street, where they camped on the ridge of land known as Society Hill, which followed the southern side of Dock Creek. The artillery took up their quarters in Chestnut Street, between Third and Sixth, and parked their cannon in the Statehouse yard. The Forty-Second Highlanders were on Chestnut Street, below Third, and the Fifteenth Regiment at Fifth and Market. Firewood was scarce, and garden fences, stables, and other structures rapidly disappeared.

Philadelphia was a comparatively easy place for them to fortify. Lying at the junction of two rivers, which came together like the letter V, the important place to strengthen was the open part of the V, which extended northward toward Germantown and Chestnut Hill. The river-fronts were easily fortified by bat-

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teries and guards. The open space to the north they fortified by a line of redoubts extending from river to river on the present lines of Poplar, Green, and Callowhill streets, turning the V into an A.

This line of redoubts had been begun by General Putnam to keep the British out of Philadelphia, but the work was abandoned after the successful battle of Trenton, which, it was supposed, rendered all defence of the city unnecessary. The British now completed these defences, which had been intended to be used against them, and while they were engaged in the work kept a strong force out at Germantown. This force rested its left on the Schuylkill, near the mouth of the Wissahickon, and extended eastward along Schoolhouse Lane, across Germantown, and along Mill Street to the Old York Road. Washington and his army lay some ten or fifteen miles to the northward, at White Marsh; and it seemed to him that it was a good opportunity to attack this outpost and drive it in on the city before the works were completed.

This plan, which resulted in the battle of Germantown, was carried out on the morning of October 4. The American army was divided into three divisions. One division, under Armstrong, passed down near the Schuylkill, to attack the British at the mouth of the Wissahickon and on Schoolhouse Lane. Another, under Wayne and Sullivan, went by what is now the Main Street of Germantown, to attack the British centre at Market Square, and was followed by the reserves. The third division, under Greene, went by way of the Lime Kiln turnpike against the right wing of the enemy, which rested on the Old York Road.

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The troops under General Potter, which were patrolling the country west of the Schuylkill, were ordered to make a feint at some of the ferries close to the city, and prevent reinforcements from going to Germantown. The attack, it was hoped, would be almost simultaneous along the whole English line.

The Americans started in the night, so as to reach Germantown about daybreak, and the king's troops were taken by surprise. Armstrong, on the American right, reached the mouth of the Wissahickon, and fought the enemy there, but was unable to drive them back, and get on the British rear, as was intended. Wayne and Sullivan were more successful. Marching down the turnpike, which formed the Main Street of Germantown, they met a strong outpost at Mount Airy, and drove it before them down to the British centre at Market Square, which was thrown into confusion. Wayne's men had only a week or two before been surprised at Paoli, and had seen some of their comrades cruelly butchered. They now revenged themselves, and bayoneted the English without mercy. Nothing prevented their complete triumph except that Greene had been too successful on the American left. He had attacked the English right wing on Mill Street, near the Lime Kiln turnpike, defeated it, and, turning eastward, along Mill Street, pressed into the English centre just at the time when Wayne was atoning for his misfortunes at Paoli. An early morning fog, mixed with smoke, obscured everything. Wayne and Sullivan mistook Greene for a reinforcement of the enemy, and retreated.

The reserves which were following Wayne and

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Sullivan were delayed. Part of the outpost which Wayne drove back to the centre had taken possession of the mansion of Chief Justice Chew, which still stands about a hundred yards from the east side of the road. As the Reserves came up, and found what appeared to be a stronghold of the enemy, they stopped to besiege it. They acted upon the rule that an advancing army must not leave a fortress of the enemy in its rear. But the delay was unfortunate. Greene, deserted by Wayne and Sullivan, and unassisted by the Reserves, was obliged to retreat; and when he had fallen back as far as the Reserves, they all retreated, and what promised to be a most important victory for the Americans was lost.

Wayne always insisted that, if it had not been for these unlucky mistakes, he and Greene could have driven the British back into the city and out of it, and ended the war. Washington was also deeply disappointed, and fretted himself for a long time over the misfortunes of that day.

But eminent military authorities have held that the Americans gained all that was possible from the situation. If they had driven the British back upon the town, the whole force, under Cornwallis, would have rushed out, fresh and vigorous, to find before them an inferior force of Americans, worn out with the long pursuit, and twenty miles from their camp. Washington's army might have been annihilated. But, as it was, he gained the credit, among military men in Europe, of having prepared a most excellent plan of battle, which was more than half successful, and failed through almost unavoidable accident. The courage

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and energy with which the Americans made the attack, and the fierceness with which mere militiamen used the bayonet upon regulars, were well calculated to restore the drooping spirits of the patriots, and, what was equally valuable, inspire France with the importance of an alliance.

The British continued to hold Germantown. But when their line of redoubts along Green and Poplar streets was completed, the Germantown force was withdrawn. The redoubts, which were built largely of apple-trees and all sorts of material collected on the spot, were ten in number, stretching from river to river, from Green and Front streets, on the Delaware, to the present Park entrance at Spring Garden Street, on the Schuylkill, and the spaces between these redoubts were protected by abatis, stockades, and batteries. Simcoe, with the Queen's Rangers, was at Redoubt No. 1, on the Delaware, where he carefully guarded the great Treaty Elm from desecration, and was supposed to let in the few supplies which the farmers of the country could secretly furnish the enemy. The Hessian grenadiers were encamped from Fifth to Seventh streets, and between Vine and Callowhill streets. Next were the English grenadiers, extending to Broad Street, with other divisions beyond. Nearly the whole force was, in this way, massed close against the redoubts in the open portion of the V, which was the important place to protect. But they could not yet settle down to a quiet enjoyment of the city, for the forts and vessels which commanded the river were still in possession of the Americans.

There were three forts: Mifflin, on the Pennsylvania

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side, just below the mouth of the Schuylkill; Red Bank, almost opposite to it, on the Jersey side; and Billingsport, also on the Jersey side, a little farther down. Between these forts the *chevaux de frise*, invented by Franklin, were stretched across the channel, and effectually prevented the British men-of-war and supply ships from reaching the city. Above the *chevaux de frise*, and protected by the guns of the forts, lay the American war vessels, consisting of galleys, floating batteries, and ships. Part of them belonged to the Continental fleet, and the rest to the State navy. When the British entered Philadelphia these vessels had gone up abreast of the town, and fought the batteries that were placed upon the wharves, and tried to sweep, with their shot, the streets that led down to the river. They were driven back, several of them captured or destroyed, and they were now content to lie under the shadow of the forts.

But, in spite of the defeat of these vessels, General Howe was in the peculiar position of having possession of the city, and yet unable to communicate with the ships under command of his brother, Admiral Howe, which lay below the *chevaux de frise*. This was a serious inconvenience; for, as the country all around was overrun with American scouting and skirmishing parties, he would have to draw most of his supplies by way of his brother's fleet in the river.

Washington had now another possible chance to atone for Brandywine and Swedes Ford. It might be that the British, in taking Philadelphia, had gone into a trap. Their supplies by land were cut off, and, if the river could be held against them, they could be

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besieged and starved into a surrender. They and the Tories in the city were already suffering and paying enormous sums for the commonest sort of provisions. Washington was determined to hold the forts as long as possible. He strengthened their garrisons in every way he could devise, and the letters he wrote to the officers on the importance of the situation were pathetic in their appeals. The British were equally determined to take the forts, and the struggle continued for a month after the battle of Germantown; during which time provisions became scarcer and scarcer in the city, and the English soldiers, who could see down the river the masts of the ships containing supplies for them, became more desperate in their attempts than ever.

Of all the battles of the Revolution, there were few in which there was such desperate, furious fighting and such heroic valor as was seen in the grass and mud of Fort Mifflin and on the sands of Red Bank.

Billingsport was the first to fall, and it was taken on the 1st of October, a few days before the battle of Germantown. Two regiments of British went down to Chester, crossed over to Raccoon Creek, near the present site of Bridgeport, on the Jersey side, and moved up against the fort. It was garrisoned by about two hundred and fifty men, under Col. William Bradford, and was too large to be defended by such a small force. As it was not of much importance compared with Mifflin and Red Bank, and could not be defended, Bradford abandoned it, carrying away the ammunition and most of the guns, and spiking the rest. The British entered, and took up the row of *chevaux de frise* in front; but this was of small advan-

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tage, for the obstructions between Mifflin and Red Bank still remained.

Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, was next attacked. It had been garrisoned by New Jersey militia; but Washington now placed in it four hundred veteran Rhode Island troops, commanded by Colonel Greene, and Greene was warned that the fate of America depended on his exertions. The fort at Red Bank was, like Billingsport, too large to be defended by any force that could at that time be spared. But Greene tried to make it smaller by dividing the outer from the inner works. He decided to make his first stand in the outer works, and then fall back to the interior lines, which he had greatly strengthened by an earthen rampart and an abatis of trees.

Instead of going down to Chester to cross the Delaware, as they had done in the attack on Billingsport, the British succeeded in getting from their fleet a number of small boats, which passed unseen through the *chevaux de frise*, and by the forts in the dead of night, and reached Philadelphia. On October 21, these boats transported from the city, across to Cooper's Point, now Camden, about twenty-five hundred men. They were all Hessians, under the command of Count Donop. They began their march down to Red Bank on the morning of the 22d, but it was not till the afternoon that Greene saw them emerging from the woods in front of him.

They sent an officer to demand a parley with him, who, when allowed to speak, announced that the King of England ordered his rebellious subjects to lay down their arms, and if they should refuse and stand battle,

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no quarter would be given. The Americans accepted the challenge, and agreed that there should be no quarter on either side.

The Hessians immediately began to build an earth battery, and about four o'clock opened fire. It was returned by Greene. The American galleys in the river came up within range, and also opened. Under cover of the smoke, Donop divided his men into two columns, and rushed to the assault. The column under Minigerode suffered severely from the fire of Greene's men and the galleys as they ran over the intervening space; but when they reached the outer works, they found them abandoned, and the inner works were silent. Thinking the fort secured, they waved their hats, shouted victory, and rushed on. Greene allowed them to come close to the inner works, when he gave them a volley. Still they pressed on, reached the abatis, and were pushing aside the branches, when they received another volley, from the effects of which their officers with difficulty rallied them. They came on again to the abatis; and, another volley throwing them into complete confusion, they ran around to the river-front of the fort, where the galleys played upon them until they fled back to the woods.

Donop's column met with slightly better success, got beyond the abatis, but was stopped by the wall, eight or nine feet high, surmountable only by scaling-ladders. They could not endure the deadly fire from within, and joined their comrades in flight.

Greene had lost only eight men killed, and twenty-nine wounded. But four hundred killed and wounded Hessians lay in heaps around the fort. The survivors

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hastened back to Philadelphia, cursing the British, who always exposed them to the worst danger, and in this instance had sent them, without ladders, to scale the wall.

From one of the heaps of Hessian dead came a voice, "Whoever you are, draw me hence." It was Count Donop, still alive. Captain De Manduit, a French officer serving with Greene, went to his assistance, and he was carried on blankets into the fort. The soldiers who bore him could not refrain from reminding him that he had agreed that no quarter should be given. "I am in your hands," he said; "you may revenge yourselves." De Manduit silenced the men, and Donop said, "You seem to be a foreigner. Who are you?" "A French officer," said Manduit. "Then," said Donop, "I die content. I am in the hands of honor itself." He lived for three days, cared for at the house of a Quaker near by. He begged De Manduit to tell him when the end was approaching; and when that sad duty was performed, Donop said, "It is finishing a noble career early; but I die the victim of my ambition and of the avarice of my sovereign."

At the same time that Donop attacked Red Bank, the British fleet attempted to break through the *chevaux de frise*, to support him. The frigates "Augusta" and "Roebuck," and four smaller vessels, succeeded; but the "Augusta" and "Merlin" were soon aground near the mouth of Mantua Creek, and in the evening the "Roebuck" met with the same fate. They could do nothing to aid Donop, and the next day were attacked by the American galleys and fire-ships, assisted by the guns of Fort Mifflin.

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It was the most important naval battle the "Delaware" had seen. For hours the firing was incessant, and great efforts were made to get other vessels up through the *chevaux de frise*. The "Isis" was being warped through the obstructions, while the guns boomed on both sides, and clouds of smoke rolled over the water. A hot shot set the "Augusta" on fire; and while her crew were jumping overboard, and escaping in boats, the flames reached the magazine and blew her into the air. Soon after the "Merlin" was set on fire and abandoned, and the remaining British vessels returned to the fleet.

So far the Americans were successful, and still held the forts. The battle of Saratoga had now been fought, and Burgoyne had surrendered to General Gates. There was no enemy in the north, and if Gates' army had been brought to reinforce Fort Mifflin, the British in the city might have been permanently cut off from their ships. But it was a long march to bring Gates' army down to Philadelphia; and Gates, inflated with his success, saw before him the possibility of the chief command, and was in no hurry to help Washington. Meantime the British were making every effort to reduce the fort.

Mud Island, on which Fort Mifflin stood, was at that time almost in the middle of the river, with a channel between it and the Pennsylvania shore, now long since filled up. The fort had been built to fight ships coming up the river, and its weakest side was the one toward the Pennsylvania shore. As the British occupied Philadelphia, they could take advantage of this; and they accordingly began planting batteries on

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Province Island, which lay close against the main shore, separated from it only by a narrow creek or thoroughfare.

One of the first batteries they built was taken by the Americans; but after that they built battery after battery, and were favored with very high tides, which flooded the meadows and prevented an assault. They progressed in their work until they had five batteries mounting twenty-four heavy guns, besides mortars and howitzers. They also prepared two old hulks of vessels, with nineteen guns, to be floated close to the fort. The fleet moved up to support the attack, having over two hundred guns on the large vessels, besides those carried by the smaller craft.

To resist this terrible onset of heavy metal, Col. Samuel Smith, in command of Fort Mifflin, had only three hundred men, and about twenty guns. The galleys in the river could give him some assistance, and also the fort at Red Bank, which was still held by Col. Christopher Greene. But the time for saving Mifflin was evidently passed. The batteries on Province Island should have been attacked before they grew so strong. Plans had been prepared for that end, but they were frustrated; and the garrison must now rely on their own efforts and the strength of the fort's walls.

On the 10th of November the batteries on Province Island opened, the garrison replied, and the heavy firing only ceased with nightfall, after which the British fired a gun every half-hour. The next day the storming again began. The exhausted garrison, after fighting all day, had to work through the night, to

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repair the breaches and destruction as best they could. Relief parties were sent from Red Bank every evening, to assist in the repairs, and withdrawn in the morning. Colonel Smith was wounded, and Colonel Russell took the command. Ill health and fatigue soon exhausted him, and Major Simeon Thayer took his place.

At the close of the fourth day the firing was kept up all night, and the two hulks were brought into the channel between the fort and the Pennsylvania shore. They opened fire as soon as day broke, with terrible execution, the batteries on shore joined in, the guns from the fleet in the river below began to thunder; and the shots were cross-fired in several directions over the fort. A great pall of smoke rose into the air, and covered the river and meadows.

But the little garrison steadily served their guns, and Commodore Hazlewood, of the galleys, concentrated his attack on the hulk called the "Vigilant." The wind was against him; and as he kept warping his vessels into position, the cables were repeatedly shot away. But he got to the place he wanted to reach, and opened on the "Vigilant." Thayer sent him word to attack the frigate "Isis," and he himself would attend to the "Vigilant;" and before noon the "Vigilant" was silenced.

At night the little garrison again repaired their works, and at dawn their flag was still flying. But, under cover of the darkness, the "Vigilant" had moved to a new position, and was within a hundred yards of the fort, on its weakest side, where scarcely any of the guns could be used. The men in her tops could shoot muskets and throw hand grenades down into the fort,

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and when the cannonade from the ships and batteries began, the garrison could not reply; for not a man could step out on the platform to handle the guns without being shot from the "Vigilant." They could only keep under cover, and let the fort be demolished over their heads. Palisades, parapet, and block houses were shot down and levelled, and at the close of the day there was nothing of Fort Mifflin but a heap of ruins.

Of the three hundred men two hundred and fifty were killed and wounded. But Thayer would not haul down his flag. When night came, as much of the ammunition as could be saved was placed in boats; and, after setting fire to the barracks and ruins, the garrison, with their wounded, went across to Red Bank. They had endured a siege of six days, which at the time was considered one of the most remarkable in history.

Two days after the fall of Mifflin, Lord Cornwallis, with two thousand men, started to cross the river at Chester, and attack Red Bank. On reaching the Jersey side he was joined by a large force under General Wilson, sent from New York. Varnum was now in charge of Red Bank, and Washington sent General Greene, with two thousand men, to his relief. But, believing the defence of the fort useless and hopeless, Varnum abandoned it to the British.

With Red Bank in the hands of the enemy, and the British fleet about to remove the *chevaux de frise* and come up the river, there was no safety for the American galleys and other vessels which had done such good service. They attempted to pass up the river and get by the city to the safer waters of the upper Delaware.

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This also failed, and the ships were either captured or set on fire by their commanders. It was now the middle of November. The British settled down to enjoy themselves in the city, and Washington retired to Valley Forge.

British Pass a Pleasant Winter in Philadelphia

CHAPTER XXIV

THE BRITISH PASS A PLEASANT WINTER IN PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA, which the British fought so hard to gain, was of very little use to them. They soon became convinced of this; but they were in it for the winter, and had to pass away the time.

Their amusements were confined very strictly within the limits of the two rivers and the line of forts on Poplar Street; for the country outside of these bounds was controlled by the Continentals. Potter held the country west of the Schuylkill; and a dashing free-booter, named McLane, was likely to appear suddenly at any point from within gunshot of the redoubts on Poplar Street to Washington's first camp at White Marsh.

After the fall of Fort Mifflin and Red Bank, however, the British indulged themselves in one piece of amusement outside of their lines, which may have given them some satisfaction at the time, but which they all probably lived to regret. From the line of their redoubts, at Poplar Street, northward to the outskirts of Germantown, were many pretty country-seats, — the summer homes of Whig and Tory, — containing, in days of peace, the most typical and pleasant life of the times. A few of them escaped, and are still stand-

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ing; but twenty-seven of them, which we might now enjoy for their simple and perfect architecture, were ruthlessly burned to ashes. At one hour on a certain day, late in the autumn, the people on the roofs and steeples of the city could see seventeen of these old homes blazing up at once.

The decline in the value of the paper currency was as troublesome to the Tories, who were now locked up with the British, as it had been a few months before to the Whigs. In the hope of making values more stable, a number of people pledged themselves to take the currency at the value it had had before the Declaration of Independence. About six hundred names are signed to this agreement, — all of them presumably Tories, or Tory sympathizers; and the list has often been used to discover who were not patriots in those days. The names of many good men are on it, whose friends and relations would have been very glad, a few years later, if the list had been forgotten. But just at that time most of them were doing very well in the company of the British officers.

Dining-clubs became more numerous than ever. Even the journeymen tailors had one. There were balls and amusements of every kind. The officers played cricket, and had cock-fights. In all these things Major André bore a prominent part. He was unquestionably the most accomplished and attractive young man in the British army. He could sketch, paint, write verses, and get up sports and entertainments with more than the usual skill of the amateur. Some of his Revolutionary verses, especially those on Wayne's raid, near New York, will probably live as long as the

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memory of the contest. He was young, and, though at that time best known for his gayety, was, nevertheless, a trusted and valued officer.

It was a loss to mankind that, two years afterward, his first serious business was with that deep-dyed villain, Arnold. But for that we might now remember him as a distinguished general or statesman, and one of England's greatest men. As it is, we have only to record that he was the life and soul of the little theatre on South Street. There was considerable dramatic talent in the army, and a few professional actors to help them out. But copies of the popular plays of the day were not a necessary part of an army's equipment, and the young actors were obliged to advertise for them in the newspapers. About a dozen were obtained, with such titles as "The Mock Doctor," "The Deuce is in it," "The Wonder: a Woman kept a Secret," which, by being repeated, were made to last all winter.

They painted their own scenery; and André painted a particularly pretty piece of landscape, with trees, meadows, and streams. It had his name on the back, and was preserved for a long time. In 1807 it was used in a patriotic play, which represented its author's capture by the two soldiers, when he was escaping from the interview with Arnold. It would be a valuable relic now; but it was burned with the theatre, in 1827.

While these things were going on, the American prisoners in the Walnut Street jail, on Washington Square, were in charge of a wild beast named Cunningham. It is difficult to believe all that is said of this man. It appears to have contributed to his

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enjoyment to upset their dishes of food, and see them scramble for it on the dirty floor. But it was not often he indulged them in food. At one time they had to powder the rotten wood of an old pump, mix it with all sorts of vile scrapings, including old paint they had cut from the walls, boil the mass in a pot, and eat it. They are said to have watched the holes in the building to catch the rats, which they skinned and ate raw. In the long winter nights they kept warm by sleeping huddled together in one corner in a promiscuous heap. As they died, they were tumbled into pits in Washington Square, to mingle with the bones of Indians, paupers, criminals, and Tory spies.

Another contrast to the pleasures and gayety of the British in Philadelphia was the suffering of the American army in its winter-quarters at Valley Forge, where they watched the enemy, and kept him penned within the town. The disasters of the campaign, which had aroused a strong party, anxious to deprive Washington of the command, had also resulted in an utter demoralization of all those departments of government which keep an army supplied with clothes and provisions. As soon as cold weather set in, the soldiers were in a serious plight, and ready to break out in mutiny. Washington reported that three or four days of excessively bad weather might leave him without an army. "Few men," he said, "had more than one shirt, many only a moiety of one, and some none at all." More than twenty-eight hundred were unfit for duty because they were barefoot, and many sat up all night round the fires because they had no blankets to sleep in. But the approach of spring brought a change.

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Departments of supply were organized; clothes and food arrived; and, as the good weather appeared, Valley Forge also had its little theatre and plays, and the men indulged themselves in cricket and other games of ball.

By the time spring came it was evident that the English were weary of the town, and wanted a change. They were accomplishing nothing, and General Howe was not adding to his reputation. He had the city, but Washington made him stay in it, and his only way of liberty was down the river. After the battle of Germantown, and before Washington left White Marsh for Valley Forge, Howe had started out to attack him, but he returned without seeing the American camp; and the intrenchments and redoubts on that long hill-side at Valley Forge kept him quiet for the rest of the winter. His successor, Sir Henry Clinton, arrived May 7, 1778; and the officers decided to give their departing general a grand *fête*, which would be a token of their regard for him, and a fitting close to the festivities of the winter.

This *fête* was the famous Mischianza, — an Italian word, meaning “medley,” a great delight to the young men and women who took part in it, and a magnificent folly to some of their elders and all sober-minded historians. André said that General Howe was so popular that the whole army would gladly have contributed to the expense, but the line had to be drawn, and only twenty-two field officers were allowed to subscribe. The invitations were issued for the 18th of May, and had on them the Howe coat-of-arms, with a motto to the effect that the great general’s sun was

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now setting on this side of the Atlantic, only to rise in greater splendor on the other.

Walnut Grove, the country-place of Thomas Wharton, known as Duke Wharton, a Quaker of considerable dignity, was selected as the scene of the festivity. It was in what is now the southern part of the city, near the river. Its large lawn gave ample room for the tournament, and wooden pavilions, and ball and supper rooms were added to the house. André and the other officers exhausted their skill in decorating these rooms in a style and taste which, curiously enough, is now restored to this country, after slumbering a hundred years. The color of the ball-room was a pale blue, panelled with a small gold head, and within the panels were drooping festoons of flowers in their natural colors. But perhaps André himself had better finish the description:—

“ Below the subbase the ground was of rose pink with drapery festooned in blue. These decorations were heightened by 85 mirrors decked with rose pink and silk ribbons and artificial flowers, and in the intermediate spaces were 34 branches with wax lights ornamented in a similar manner.”

With the lights all lit, and reflected from eighty-five mirrors, and everything pink, blue, and gold, with uniforms and dresses in harmony, it was unquestionably a perfect dream of a ball-room. Four drawing-rooms, with similar decorations, opened out from it, and there were large sideboards, with refreshments on each. Twenty-four jet-black slaves, in Oriental dresses, with big silver collars round their necks, and silver bracelets on their naked arms, were drawn up in two lines,

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and bent their heads to the floor, as the great general and conqueror of all America entered.

The *fête* began, in the afternoon, with a grand regatta, which started from Knight's Wharf, at the foot of what is now Green Street. There were galleys and barges and boats of all sorts, lined with green cloth, and covered with streamers and pennants; and there were other barges to guard them, and keep the swarms of spectator boats from pressing upon the procession. The men-of-war — the "Fanny," the "Roebuck," and others — manned their yards with men, and covered their rigging with the flags of all nations, among which appeared, here and there, the stars and stripes. The broadsides thundered their salutes, and great clouds of white smoke rolled along the tide. There never had been such a scene upon the Delaware.

The procession rowed slowly down to the Association Battery, or Old Fort, as the English called it, which was near the spot where Washington Avenue now touches the river. There, while the "Roebuck" and "Vigilant" poured salutes from their sides, the people crowded and marched between lines of grenadiers and cavalry up the slight ascent to Walnut Grove. The lawn was lined with troops, and across the middle of it the gay medley of officers, ladies, and citizens proceeded, headed by all the bands of the army, playing their music. They arranged themselves in the pavilions, and immediately the trumpets sounded, a band of horsemen rode into the open space, others followed, and a mock tournament began.

But why should we enlarge on all the details, and tell how, after the tournament, they crowded into the

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garden of the old country-place, among triumphal arches, and bomb-shells, and flaming hearts, and how they drank tea and lemonade, and how the knights, on bended knee, received the favors of their mistresses? A faro table was provided in one of the rooms, and soon after dark they began to dance in the ball-room. At ten they stopped for an hour or two to see the fireworks, and at twelve entered that gorgeous supper-room; and after supper, and healths to all that was royal and destruction to all that was rebellious, they danced again, until the sun, rising over the Jerseys, and shining on the swift tides of the Delaware, told them that the great *fête* was over, and another day begun.

Washington and his officers had not been honored with an invitation to this display; neither had Potter and McLane, who raided the country up to the city gates. But McLane determined to have a hand in it in some way. He saw the fireworks go up, and he said he would have some of his own. He divided his men into squads, and, provided with camp-kettles filled with tar, they crept up in the darkness to the long line of redoubts that stretched along Poplar Street from the Delaware to the Schuylkill. They painted everything within reach, at a given signal touched it with fire, and retired. The flames gathered headway slowly, then suddenly shot up high above parapet and embrasure, and the startled soldiers beat the long roll on the whole line, and fired every cannon from river to river. The fleet took it up. Broadside after broadside roared, and even the transports fired their little guns. The batteries along the wharves replied, and the artillery that

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guarded Southwark. All the battles that had been fought round Philadelphia, the siege of Fort Mifflin, and all the noise that has been heard since, could scarcely, together, have equalled this extraordinary midnight serenade. The ladies at Walnut Grove checked their partners in the dance, and startled looks went round the room. The officers scarcely knew what had happened; but they quieted their fears. It was a salute, they said, — part of the ceremony, — which had been arranged from the beginning.

The men on duty, however, could not regard it in that light. The cavalry passed out of the redoubts, and dashed into the darkness after those unbidden guests. But the guests had a long start, and they were very fleet. Some of them scattered in different directions. Most of them followed the Ridge Road, and, long before their pursuers could see their heels, had plunged into the dark ravines of the Wissahickon. McLane swam his horse across the Schuylkill, and joined Washington at Valley Forge.

The shivered lances and the slashing swords of the Mischianza tournament seemed to arouse the martial spirit of the British army, and they resolved to have a bout with Washington. He was now offering them a good opportunity. He was expecting Philadelphia to be evacuated almost every day, and had sent Lafayette, on the day of the Mischianza, with about two thousand men, across the Schuylkill to occupy Barren Hill, and descend upon the city at the first opportunity.

Lafayette's force lay encamped upon the hill between the Schuylkill and the Ridge Road, below Matson's

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Ford, and below the road to White Marsh. It seemed to the English a fine opportunity, and they sent General Grant, with eight thousand men, to make a détour far to the eastward, follow the White Marsh Road, and get behind the young Frenchman. While this was being done, General Grey was to march directly upon Lafayette's left flank, and Howe and Clinton, with another force, were to proceed close along the side of the Schuylkill, against Lafayette's front, cut him off from the fords, and join Grant in the rear.

The plan seems to have been a very close copy of the battle of Germantown. The whole attacking force was sixty-five hundred, more than treble the numbers of Lafayette. The British were jubilant in their expectation of success. Sir Henry Clinton had then succeeded to the command; but Howe seems to have both originated and conducted the expedition. He invited some ladies to dine with him that evening and meet his distinguished prisoner, and a frigate was prepared to take the prisoner to England.

The attacking force left the city on the evening of May 19, the day after the Mischianza, intending to surprise their enemy on the following morning, as they themselves had been surprised by Washington at Germantown. Six hundred Pennsylvania militia were guarding the White Marsh Road on Lafayette's rear. They neglected their duty, and moved off, so that the eight thousand British under Grant, coming by that road, were close upon Lafayette when they were discovered. Not in the least disconcerted, he formed part of his force into columns, with orders to show themselves at different points, as if they were advanced

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detachments of larger parties. As soon as the British saw them they halted, and prepared for action; and while they were thus occupied, Lafayette and the rest of his men slipped back to Matson's Ford. The men who had checked the British gradually joined him, and the whole force crossed in safety to Valley Forge. When the two attacking parties, under Grant and Sir William Erskine, finally met at Barren Hill, they found nothing but an empty camp. It was a clever piece of soldiering for the little Frenchman, and resembled the shrewd tactics he afterward displayed in Virginia.

Howe returned, in deep disgust, to dine with the ladies, without his lively prisoner; and the army and the Tories were equally disappointed. It would have been such a neat ending to the campaign and the Mischieza; it would have atoned for the long indolence and imbecility of the winter to have gone back to England with the marquis.

Almost a month passed before the city was evacuated. Washington watched every movement, and Howe and Clinton were careful to make everything as uncertain as possible. It had been difficult to enter the city, and it was no easy matter to leave it, without giving the Americans an opportunity for an attack. If they could come upon the British in the act of crossing the Delaware, they might inflict a terrible defeat. On the 3d of June, three regiments crossed the Delaware to the Jersey side, and camped on the present site of Camden, with their lines extending down as far as Gloucester. On the 18th, the evacuation took place by the remaining troops marching southward into the

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neck near the junction of the two rivers, and crossing over, by boats, to Gloucester, where they joined the three regiments that had preceded them, and all marched through the Jerseys to New York. The crossing was thus amply protected by the troops at Gloucester and by the ships in the river.

As soon as the troops had all crossed to New Jersey, the fleet sailed, beating slowly down the river, and not reaching the capes for eleven days. About three thousand Tories accompanied them, — a large portion of the population of the city, which never again returned. They amused themselves as best they could on the long voyage down the river, and relieved the monotony by visits from ship to ship.

The last soldiers had not left the built-up portion of the city before McLane and his cavalry dashed through the gates of the redoubts. They rode fast down Second Street, and as they turned up Walnut, and crossed the bridge over Dock Creek, captured Captain Sandford, who had lingered a little too long. They heard that Howe and his retinue were farther up town, and they started in pursuit; but they were too late. He had just passed beyond South Street, and was joining the troops in the neck.

Washington immediately put General Arnold in command of Philadelphia, and pursued the British through New Jersey. Their retreat gave him the opportunity he wanted, and he defeated them in the battle of Monmouth.

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CHAPTER XXV

TORYISM AND PAPER MONEY

PHILADELPHIA, though abandoned by the enemy, was in a condition of shocking demoralization, and needed a strong control. The British had left it ruinous and dirty. The town, at that time, was famous for its cleanliness and neatness, the handsome trees in its streets, and its pretty houses, surrounded with gardens. The British had cut down the trees for fire-wood, dumped everything they did not want in the streets, and destroyed houses and buildings of all sorts, with the same impartiality for Tory and patriot which they had shown in the destruction of the country-places.

But there were worse things than ruined houses and dirty streets, among which Tories and officers had been holding such high carnival. The town was without a government, full of desperate, reckless characters, and parties swayed by violent, bitter feelings. Tories, and even neutrals, had become arrogant from living with the army, and were inclined to be offensive to the patriots. Many of them had not only sympathized with the army, but assisted it, and had been employed by it. The battles, the dead, and the wounded, the cruelty to prisoners, had not tended to soften old hatreds. The patriots were thirsting for vengeance,

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and many of them were ready for mob violence and lynching.

In the minds of the extremists among the patriot party, all shades of Toryism were guilty alike; and they determined to stamp them all out by force, and let the scaffold and the rope play an important part. A number of these extreme patriots signed an agreement by which they bound themselves to bring all Tories to justice; and, in reading over their signatures, one cannot but be impressed on finding that, except Reed's, there is scarcely an important or well-known name among them. The prominent people among the patriots, like Robert Morris, Wilson, and others, were inclined to be moderate and easy with the Tories. It was the new and obscure people, just come to power, that wished to be violent.

To a certain extent, the extremists had their way, and it is true, as has been sometimes said, that at this time Philadelphia was ruled by a mob. But the mob was somewhat restrained by the better element. Men like McKean, Cadwalader, Robert Morris, Dr. Rush, Wilson, Clymer, and Ross, saw the absolute futility of violent measures against the Tories as well as their cruelty. So they managed to give the mob a modified vengeance, allowed them to pick out individuals here and there to be hung as examples, confiscate property, and frighten people by publishing them as traitors. In this way they prevented what might have been a reign of terror.

The two victims who finally became the examples, and appeased the fury of the radicals, were Carlisle and Roberts. They were tried, on the recommenda-

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tion of Chief Justice McKean, in the criminal court of oyer and terminer, under the State law against high treason. Carlisle was a carpenter, and Roberts was a miller. Both were apparently Quakers. Carlisle, during the British occupation, had been put in charge of one of the gates of the northern line of redoubts, and had issued passes. Roberts' principal offence had been enlisting, and persuading others to enlist, in the British army; but his persuasions had not been very successful.

The trial and conviction of these two men aroused the greatest excitement, and brought out all the various shades of opinion in the community. Twelve of the grand jurors, who indicted them, at the same time recommended them to mercy, and ten of the petit jurors, who tried Roberts, and found him guilty, also recommended him to mercy. Petitions for pardon came in from every side. There were three hundred and eighty-seven who signed Carlisle's petition, and among them Dr. Rush, General Cadwalader, and other members of the patriot party. Nine hundred signed in favor of Roberts. But it was all in vain. They were executed in the most public manner, driven in carts with ropes round their necks, and their coffins before them.

Arnold had been placed, by Washington, in command of Philadelphia, to repress lawlessness; but his insolence and corruption soon made him intolerable to all parties. Great efforts were made to have him removed; and he was finally tried by court-martial, and escaped with only a reprimand. He was deep in speculations and government contracts; grew rich, and

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married Miss Shippen, the daughter of one of the most prominent families. He settled a fortune on himself for life, with remainder to his wife and children, and bought Mr. John Macpherson's country-place, Mount Pleasant, for his family mansion.

The depreciation of the currency and the fluctuations in prices gave vast opportunities for speculation. Robert Morris was still following his calling of dealing in flour, or lead, or anything that could be carried in a ship, was constantly suspected, attacked, and called on to explain. His explanations always showed his transactions to have been legitimate, and that he turned over a large part of his gains to the Continental Government, which he was constantly assisting with his advice and encouragement.

But still the mass of the people, especially in the Constitutional party, were not satisfied. They attempted to make speculation a crime, to be punished by law. They insisted on regulating prices, and fixing the amount that was to be paid for everything. That would settle the whole question, they said; cut off the noisome race of speculators, and give a stable value to the currency. They were so sure this remedy would be effective that they were ready to fight about it. A writer in Dunlap's "Packet" expresses the general feeling with great simplicity.

"The regulation of prices is absolutely necessary. We have all been wrong in our notions of getting rich. It is true we have got money. I have more money than ever I had; but I am poorer than ever I was."

While all this excitement among the Constitutionlists was at its height, in the autumn of 1779, and

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not meeting with much success against either the Tories or the speculators, the militia decided to take a hand in it. They appointed a committee, posted placards against Robert Morris, Wilson, and others, and announced that they were in pursuit of Quakers, speculators, Tories, and all lawyers who defended them. On the 4th of October two hundred of them marched down Chestnut Street, and seized several Quakers as they were coming out of meeting. They then turned along Second to Walnut, and went up Walnut to Wilson's house, which stood at the southwest corner of Walnut and Third streets.

Wilson, General Mifflin, Clymer, and other Anti-Constitutionalists, and men of moderate views, knowing that they had been singled out by the mob, had gathered in this house for protection. The city troop of cavalry had also been in readiness, but, as the morning passed quietly, they had gone home. The militia mob was marching up Walnut Street, had almost passed Wilson's house, and all might have been well if a certain Captain Campbell had not leaned out of the window, shaken his pistols at the mob, and ordered them to move on. They instantly fired, and killed him. The fire was returned from the house, and soon became general. The mob got heavy timbers, broke in the doors, and for a time there was fighting and stabbing in the hall and on the stairs. But the rioters were forced out, and the door barricaded with tables.

The mob were then in Walnut Street; and just at that moment President Reed, who had risen from his sick bed, and had not finished dressing, came riding down Third Street, at the head of seven of the city

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troop, with pistols in his hands, and his clothes not yet all buttoned. He turned suddenly into Walnut Street, and charged. A cry of "The horse, the horse!" was raised, and, it being supposed that he was followed by the whole city troop, the militia rioters fled. Reed took many of them prisoners on the spot, and spent a large part of the afternoon in picking up others about the town; twenty-seven in all. Only two had been killed by the fire from the house.

As Reed was riding away from Wilson's house, he met Arnold quietly driving to the scene of disturbance in his carriage. Reed instantly ordered him to return, and Arnold obeyed, which shows how he was regarded and treated in Philadelphia. A little while afterward, however, he drove down to Wilson's house, went upstairs, and, after brandishing a pair of pistols out of the window, said that President Reed seemed to have raised a commotion which he could not quiet.

The Constitutionalists were now more than ever under the leadership of Reed, who was president of the Supreme Executive Council. He seems, on many occasions, to have been opposed to the violent measures which the extremists of his party wished to take against the Tories and Republicans. But in this year, 1779, he made himself responsible for an attack which can scarcely be called justifiable.

Driven from office and power, and almost even from social influence, the class of men who had once ruled the colony were gathered together in the college. This was their last stronghold, their only title to importance in local politics or power. Men like Robert Morris and Wilson, signers of the Declaration of

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Independence, who stood high in national councils, were rapidly becoming mere ciphers in the government of their State. If they could be kicked out of the college, or the college destroyed, it would seem to be all that was necessary to make them utterly contemptible among the people, destroy the last vestige of their influence, break up the Anti-Constitutionalists, and make the Constitutionalists the one party of the State. This was the task Reed set himself to perform, and there seems but little doubt that he was inspired by no higher motive than mere partisan success.

The Constitutionalists had already handled the college as roughly as they could. They had quartered soldiers in it, suspended the functions of its trustees, and called it a nest of Tories and traitors. There was nothing to show that it was a resort of traitors. Treason was not taught there. It had done nothing to favor the British interest; nor had it failed in showing a proper respect to the government. The Continental Congress had been invited to attend one of its commencements, and many of its officers were active patriots.

But still every one knew that the college was to be attacked. The old hatred for the proprietary party and the new hatred for the Anti-Constitutionalists could not resist such an opportunity. Even in 1776 the college was believed to be in danger from the party that was forcing upon the State the new Constitution. While the convention was in session that year, a meeting of prominent men was held at the house of Provost Smith; and Franklin, who was in the convention, agreed to propose a clause for the new Constitution, which would protect the college, and also the Philosophical Society,

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and any other institution which might tempt the cupidity of the extreme Revolutionists. The clause, as finally adopted, was to the effect that all societies of religion and learning should continue to enjoy the same rights and privileges which they had had under the former laws of the Commonwealth. This provision, if it was obeyed, was ample protection to the college, and had thus far protected it. But the Constitutionalists now felt that they were strong enough to disregard it.

Of the twenty-four trustees of the college, all but three had taken the oath of allegiance. The three who had not taken it were Richard Penn, William Allen, and Dr. Bond. Penn and Allen were out-and-out Tories, and had left the country. Dr. Bond still remained; and to show how absolutely insincere Reed and his party were in giving Toryism as a reason for destroying the college, they made Dr. Bond a trustee of the new college, which they created on the ruins of the old, and joined with him three others who had never taken the oath of allegiance, one of whom had been a chaplain in the British army. Their real reason for the attack was not on account of the Tories that were in the college, but on account of the patriots that were in it. The recent vacancies in the Board of Trustees had been filled by Robert Morris, Francis Hopkinson, Alexander Wilcocks, Edward Biddle, John Cadwalader, and James Wilson, three of them signers of the Declaration of Independence, and one of them a general in the Continental army; but, so far as Pennsylvania politics were concerned, Anti-Constitutionalists.

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It is needless to give the details of the spoiling of the college. All the proceedings against it were consummated Nov. 27, 1779, when the Assembly passed an Act declaring the college charter void, dissolving the Board of Trustees and the Faculty, and giving all the property of the institution to new trustees of the Constitutionalist party, who were to be called The University of the State of Pennsylvania.

The Assembly seem to have supposed that great universities could be created on paper. They destroyed a true college, the slow growth of years, containing the first and greatest medical school in America, and put in its place a sham. The interests of good education in Philadelphia have not yet recovered from this blow. For the next eleven years there were two colleges in Philadelphia, both of them worthless.

The members of the old college held themselves together in some form, though without corporate existence, and kept working to get back their stolen property. The new State University also dragged along in opposition, and, though the pet of the Assembly and endowed with confiscated estates, ended its career in bankruptcy. To make up for this double worthlessness, the Episcopal Academy was founded, which still exists as a school for boys, but could not make up for the loss of the college. Provost Smith was, in effect, banished, and retired to Maryland, as Dickinson had to Delaware.

Robert Morris and his friends were destined to suffer another defeat. The paper money had depreciated until it was now almost worthless, and the Constitutionalists determined to enhance its value by having a

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fresh issue of it, coupled with a set of laws to enforce its acceptance, more complete than anything of the kind known before, which would teach the world a new lesson in finance.

These laws were passed on the 6th of April, 1781, and inflicted severe penalties in the way of fines, on any one who refused to accept the paper at its face value. The Anti-Constitutionalists were by this time a well-routed party; but they had the courage of their convictions, and could still make a stand. Robert Morris and General Mifflin led the little minority of them in the Assembly. The debate was long and earnest; and if we could have heard it, or it had been recorded, it would doubtless reveal many now unknown depths of the revolutionary contest in Pennsylvania. At the end of it Morris and Mifflin prepared a protest against the triumph of their adversaries. The protest was probably written by Morris, and its trenchant words are those of a man whose mind has been hampered into clearness in the heat of conflict.

1. "Because the value of money, and particularly of paper money depends upon the public confidence, and when that is wanting laws cannot support it, and much less penal laws.

2. "Because penalties on not receiving paper money must from the nature of the thing be either unnecessary or unjust. If the paper is of full value it will pass current without such penalties; and if it is not full, compelling the acceptance of it as equal to specie is iniquitous.

3. "Because such penalties impair the public credit. They show a diffidence of the paper in those who emit it, and thereby raise a like diffidence in those who receive it. Their tendency therefore is to injure instead of benefiting what they are intended to support.

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4. "Because it is inconsistent with the principles of liberty to prevent a man from the free disposal of his property on such terms and for such considerations as he may think fit.

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7. "Because every measure to enforce the acceptance of money renders it the interest of debtors to depreciate it.

8. "Because experience has demonstrated that such measures have not prevented depreciation."

The man who wrote these words was rightfully trusted by the Continental Government as its financier, and his exertions are generally believed to have saved its credit. But in his own State the mob seem to have believed that in public finance he was stupid, if not corrupt, and they classed him with Tories and Tory sympathizers.

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CHAPTER XXVI

DICKINSON AND THE PROVOST RETURN FROM BANISHMENT

LORD CORNWALLIS had surrendered at Yorktown, Oct. 19, 1781. Though the treaty of peace was not signed until 1783, the war was over; and Paine could announce in his last pamphlet that "the times that had tried men's souls had passed."

The cessation of hostilities relaxed the violence of the extreme patriots, and, indeed, brought on a strong reaction in favor of the Moderates or Anti-Constitutional party of Morris and Wilson. Reed, the leader of the extremists, became suddenly very unpopular, especially with the commercial and business classes, and could get no practice on his return to the bar. This was the opportunity for Dickinson and the provost, and they returned to Philadelphia, Dickinson immediately, and the provost some years later. Dickinson came to secure a vindication, and the provost to get back his college.

Dickinson was, in 1782, soon after his return, nominated as a candidate for the Supreme Executive Council. The attacks on his motives and conduct during the Revolution were renewed. He wrote to all the newspapers, asking them to publish everything they received against him, but nothing in his favor, — a

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request which they seem to have fulfilled to the letter. He himself said not a word in his own defence; but left it entirely to the people whom he had lived with and served so long. He was elected by an overwhelming majority, and immediately afterward chosen by the legislature President of the Council,—an office which at that time corresponded to Governor of the State. Then, when the vindication was complete, he published a refutation of all that had been urged against him.

Twice during his life he had been overwhelmed by unpopularity; and twice the people had returned to him, and each time trusted him more implicitly than before. They recognized in him, with all his faults, a quality more important than mere ability,—a superb moral courage, in which he was equalled by no other character in American history.

The provost's triumph was longer delayed than Dickinson's, and was not so complete. In 1784, he and the persons who had been the trustees of the college applied to the Assembly for a restoration of their charter and property. A bill in their favor was about to be passed by the majority, which was then largely Anti-Constitutional; but the minority resorted to the method much in vogue at that time, absented themselves, and prevented a quorum. It was not until 1789 that the provost returned to Philadelphia to receive back again, from the hands of a repentant Assembly, what he always insisted on calling "My college." For a time he was much elated, and believed that everything would be as it had been, and looked forward to many years of collegiate success. In the preamble

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to their Act, the Assembly said that the law of 1779, despoiling the college, had been "repugnant to justice, a violation of the Constitution of this Commonwealth, and dangerous in its precedent to all incorporated bodies."

But they could not restore the past or bring back life. The wound had been too deep. The eleven years of death had broken up the tone, the traditions, and the spirit of the old College of Philadelphia, and it never could be made to live again. Its rival, the State University, was still alongside of it, and within a year or two it became evident that neither one was accomplishing anything. A union was suggested and effected, and a third institution appeared, which was the present University of Pennsylvania.

But the provost was not connected with it, and it is doubtful whether he ever cared to be. Its Board of Trustees was made up of representatives from every party, clique, and faction in the city, in the hope that the more dissimilar and disunited they were the more they would work in harmony. It was a miserable failure. From the year 1794 to the year 1830, this hotch-potch University never graduated more than seven students a year in the department of arts, and sometimes went down as low as three. The only part of it which managed to pull itself together and make a name was the medical school, which shows how strongly rooted among us are institutions of science. It was not until after the Civil War that the healing effects of time and the energetic administration of Dr. Stillé began to restore some of the ancient strength and usefulness.

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When the Assembly repented of having destroyed the provost's college, it would have been well if they had repented of an attempt they made to destroy the Bank of North America. Robert Morris and a few other people had long wanted a bank. There were none in the colonies, and as Philadelphia became the capital of the country and a money centre, the need of some such institution was often felt. Morris and others had made a slight attempt before the Revolution by establishing a credit in Europe, which was used for banking purposes among commercial men, and which, in time, they intended to develop into a real colonial bank. In 1780, however, the Bank of Pennsylvania, the first in America, was founded, to assist Congress in purchasing supplies for the army. The men who established and supported it were the moderate patriots, like Morris, and the same people who had supported the college. They were the Anti-Constitutionalists, in other words, and were bitterly opposed by Reed and the Constitutionalists. The bank, Reed and his party said, was an injury to the paper money of the State, and in 1784 he had the satisfaction of seeing it wound up and closed.

Meantime, Robert Morris had been made Superintendent of Finances for the Continental Congress, and even in 1781, before he assumed that office, he had submitted plans for another bank, to be incorporated by Congress, and called the Bank of North America. It was to be on a specie basis, aid the national government by its money and credit, and supply the loss of the paper money, which was becoming more and more useless, and the source of infinite mischief and fraud.

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Indeed, at this time the Continental paper money was worse than the State money, and \$500 of it were worth only one dollar in gold. Sailors put it in their hat-bands, or wrapped it round the necks of dogs, and paraded the streets.

The bank was chartered by Congress, and also in April, 1782, by the Pennsylvania Assembly. It proved to be most useful. Morris declared that without it he could not have carried on the finances of the nation. Its effect had been most salutary on business of all kinds. It brought about punctuality among all classes in money matters, and in the government economy and order. The troops were regularly clothed, fed, and paid; the hospitals well supplied, debts paid, and better men secured in the civil service. It brought specie into circulation again, and its own notes passed with the same credit as silver.

But this restoration of specie was a terrible crime in the minds of Reed and the Constitutionalists. The bank was vilified in every way as a fraudulent scheme to enrich its own promoters, and cheat the people and the soldiers. It was said to be overissuing and expending beyond its limits. Its solvency was questioned. Foreigners might buy its stock, and in time make it a means to rule America. It was growing so powerful that it would soon rule the State, and it ruined the State paper money. The feeling against it was one of those fanatical and ill-regulated popular outbursts, which we have known, in our own time, under the name of Granger movements, Populism, or the Greenback or silver craze. It was very much the same feeling, and among the same sort of people, that after-

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ward, in Jackson's time, wrecked the Bank of the United States.

Unfortunately, there was in Pennsylvania no constitutional check upon such madness of the people, and they could wreak their vengeance, without let or hindrance, on a college or a bank. The Pennsylvania Assembly, in 1785, annulled the bank's charter, as they had revoked, six years before, the charter of the college. The bank, however, still had its charter from Congress, and went on under that. But the Assembly were satisfied in thinking that they had done it all the harm they could. They had driven its stock down below par, and they might have ruined it and every one connected with it, if it had not been for the Congressional Charter.

There were so many doubts, however, in the public mind, as to the validity of the charter from Congress, that efforts were immediately made to secure another State charter, and one was obtained from Delaware, Feb. 2, 1786. In 1787 the Pennsylvania Assembly was persuaded to re-charter the bank for fourteen years, and this charter was renewed in 1799. In 1790 the bank dissolved its connection with the national government, and has ever since been among the best, as it was the first, incorporated bank in Pennsylvania and in America.

The havoc played with the college, and the havoc that might have been played with the bank, was a great warning to the American people, a strong incentive to the adoption of the National Constitution, and one of the reasons for that little sentence in it which says that "No State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts."

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The despoiling of the college had been accomplished directly in the teeth of a provision of the State Constitution, which said it should not be done. Every one knew that the Act of Spoliation was unconstitutional, and the men who passed it knew that it was unconstitutional, and yet there was no way of preventing it. There was no supreme authority of the United States, and no Supreme Court of the United States, to declare such legislative proceedings void. The spoilers knew this, and knew that they could act with impunity.

The clause inserted in the National Constitution to prevent such deeds was never construed by the Supreme Court of the United States until 1819, and then, strangely enough, the case was another instance of college spoliation. The Legislature of New Hampshire had attempted to do with Dartmouth College what the Legislature of Pennsylvania, almost fifty years before, had done with the College of Philadelphia; that is to say, they had attempted, by an alteration of the Charter, to take away the college from one set of people, and give it to another set. This Dartmouth College Case, which attracted so much attention for several years, and was so ably argued by Daniel Webster, decided that the grant of a charter was a contract between the legislature and the corporation which could not afterward be impaired or altered by the legislature without the corporation's consent. Upon this decision has been built up the enormous power and usefulness of railroad manufacturing, and other business companies, which have played such an important part in the development of the United States. Under this decision they have been protected from Granger, Populist, and other fanat-

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ical movements in different States, which would have crippled or destroyed them.

There have been times when the people have believed that this decision protected the corporations only too well, increased their power for evil, as well as for good, and attempts have been made to restrict the limits of the protection and make exceptions to it. But the ravages that State legislatures committed before there was such protection seem to show that, if the protection is excessive, it is excess on the safer side. It has given a stability to investment and enterprise, commercial as well as religious, collegiate, and scientific, which could not have been had without it. Its inconveniences, whatever they may be, are preferable to the mob rule of the Pennsylvania Assembly of 1779 or 1785.

The Convention which framed the National Constitution sat in the old State-house in Philadelphia from May to September, 1787. As has just been shown, the experience with the Pennsylvania Assembly in its treatment of the college and the bank added a most important clause to the national document, — a clause to which is largely due the enterprise and prosperity of the whole Union.

Wilson proposed this clause to the convention, and secured their adoption of it. He had been a friend and supporter of both the bank and college; he was an able and accomplished lawyer; and there was no one better fitted for such a task, which was not without difficulty, because a check of this sort on the action of States in dealing with charters was rather new. But Wilson's wording of it, "No State shall pass any law

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impairing the obligation of contracts," though only a simple, short sentence, has stood the test of nearly a hundred years of judicial decision, and is now a firmly established principle. He introduced into the wording some of his own personality. He was an ardent student of the Roman law, and the word "obligation" he took from that source. It had no technical meaning in the English common law, and was afterward a little puzzling to the lawyers. But it is probable that they have given it the full meaning Wilson intended.

Pennsylvania's unfortunate experience in boundary disputes with Connecticut and Maryland was an incentive to the adoption of some form of national government which would give an authority for settling antagonisms between States. A clause was accordingly inserted in the Constitution giving the Supreme Court jurisdiction of such controversies.

But the most conspicuous addition to the Constitution came from Dickinson. He represented Delaware in the convention and advocated the cause of the small States. It was at first proposed that the representation in the Senate should be like the representation in the House, proportional in some way to the population or wealth. This would have given a great advantage to large States and tended to crush the smaller ones. Dickinson maintained that in the Senate all the States should be equal, and his advocacy secured the adoption of this important provision. He drafted the section which prohibits a new State from being formed out of parts of two other States without the consent of the States from which the parts are taken. He also took a leading part in the discussion of the

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powers of the executive. This was his last conspicuous public service, and he showed his usual ability and vigor.

The Constitution, having been framed by the convention, was submitted to the States for adoption. A petition signed by over three thousand names was at once presented to the Pennsylvania Assembly, urging them to take such measures as would secure the ratification of this new frame of National Government. But great opposition was shown, and it appeared principally among the Constitutional party,—the party of jealousies and suspicions, the party that had suspected the college, as well as the bank, of designs on liberty, and now had the same suspicions of the new form of nationality.

Moreover, the National Constitution as prepared by the convention had avoided all the defects of a numerous executive, single legislature, and council of censors, which were so conspicuous in the State Constitution of 1776. If the National Constitution were adopted, it would be a standing comment and rebuke on the State Constitution and would compel its amendment or abolition. Everything, therefore, which gave to the Constitutionalists their name compelled them to oppose the new federalism.

One of their most prominent leaders against federalism was William Findley,—a man very conspicuous in politics for the rest of the century and who now appears for the first time. He was a descendant of some of those Scots who fled their native country under the persecutions inflicted on their religion during the reign of the last two Stuart kings. He came to the

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frontier of Pennsylvania in 1763 when very young, and grew up with all the instincts and opinions of the community. He belonged to the farmer class, and during the early part of his career was too poor to employ any laborers on his little plantation. His education was very deficient, and he was one of the few prominent Scotch-Irishmen of whom this could be said. But he possessed great force of character, incorruptible integrity, and strong common-sense. He was captious, suspicious, and narrow-minded, and his portrait looks like the face of a keen old farmer.

The most conspicuous leader against him was Wilson, who had been in the Convention, was ardently in favor of the National Constitution, and has the credit of securing its ratification by Pennsylvania. He was ably assisted, of course, by Robert Morris and others and all the Anti-Constitutional or Republican party.

A motion was made in the Assembly to call a State convention to discuss the question of ratification. There was a majority in favor of it. But the Constitutionalists asked for delay, and before the final vote was taken secured an adjournment till afternoon. Having thus got an excuse for leaving the house, sixteen of them refused to return, and a quorum was prevented. The next day, their device having become well known, a party of citizens seized two of them at their lodgings and dragged them by force to the Assembly. They were compelled to remain, and, their presence securing a quorum, the motion was passed, and the convention ordered to be called. It met, and after long debate the

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draft of the National Constitution was ratified by it, Dec. 12, 1787, by a vote of 46 to 23.

The Anti-Constitutionalists, having been so successful in securing the Federal Frame of Government, had now an opportunity to get a new Constitution for the State, and abolish the bungling contrivance of 1776. That instrument had been the object of their detestation for nearly fifteen years. So strong was the feeling against it among all the better-informed classes that the lawyers, who for the most part belonged to the Anti-Constitutional party, had an understanding among themselves never to accept office under it. The legislature, being only one body, was easily driven by popular clamor to rash, precipitate, and oppressive action. In this way the college had been despoiled, the attack made on the Bank of North America, and there would doubtless be other oppressions in the future. In addition to this, the judges were not made sufficiently independent, the Council of Censors was capable only of making trouble, the numerous executive was weak and ridiculous, and every one who accepted office was obliged to take an oath that he would never do or say anything injurious to the Constitution,—an oath which was a serious infringement of the citizen's right to free speech.

The National Constitution, which avoided all these difficulties, and was an elaborate contrivance of checks and balances against excessive power in any one body, having now been adopted and approved by the whole country, there was good reason for thinking that Pennsylvania should have a government of the same sort. A convention was easily obtained, and what has since

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been known as the Constitution of 1790 was adopted. It was in almost every respect a copy of the National Constitution, and in its general features has not been very much altered by the constitutions of 1838 and 1873.

The Whiskey Rebellion

CHAPTER XXVII

THE WHISKEY REBELLION

THE Whiskey Rebellion, or the Western Insurrection, as it was called at the time of its occurrence, was an outbreak among the Scotch-Irish. They were mountaineers; and the mountain ranges of the eastern part of the United States have from time immemorial shown a tendency to produce a population which often occupies itself in the distillation of whiskey. Of late years this tendency is more apt to be shown in Tennessee and West Virginia; but in the eighteenth century it was very prominent in Western Pennsylvania.

The cause of it was simply that whiskey was the most easily transported form in which grain could be sent to market. Mountain-roads are hard roads to travel even without baggage; and to transport wheat or corn over them in large quantities is almost impossible. But a great many bushels of grain reduced to a small quantity of whiskey could easily be carried on a pack-horse, and the whiskey was equivalent to more than the value of the grain. A horse could carry about sixteen gallons; and in crossing from the western to the eastern side of the Alleghenies his load doubled in value.

During the general high prices that prevailed while the French Revolution lasted, the farmers near the seaboard grew rich. But in the mountains, or west of the

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mountains, the Scotch-Irishman's wheat and rye were almost useless to him unless he turned them into whiskey. Distilleries were started, and soon in some regions it was difficult to get out of sight of their black smoke. When, therefore, the newly created Congress put a tax on whiskey, it seemed to the excitable Scotch-Irish as if the law was aimed exclusively at themselves; and it certainly bore more heavily upon them than on any other set of people in the Union.

They had at that time reached the height of those feelings of independence and pugnaciousness which had so long characterized them. For nearly a hundred years they had been living in the interior of the country. They had been continually quarrelling with the government at Philadelphia, and on one occasion had marched with arms in their hands against the Quakers, and the two parties had been on the eve of bloodshed. They had seen themselves growing rich and numerous. They had long been accustomed to resent any interference from any sort of power. They felt that they were a State in themselves. They had just come out of the Revolution, in which they had taken a most active interest and part. They were more than ever in favor of liberty, and more than ever confident of their ability to maintain it.

In addition to all this, the French Revolution was at that time in its fiercest throes of insanity. Its wild ideas had penetrated the Alleghenies, and for a moment had over-excited the generous impulses and unseated the steady reason of the Scotchman.

An intense dislike of excise laws and excise officers was hereditary with the Scotch-Irish. Their firesides had

The Whiskey Rebellion

been entertained for a hundred years with the stories of successful resistance to such demands in the old country. The Pennsylvania excise law could never be enforced among them, and after the Revolution, when an attempt was made to enforce it, the collector of Westmoreland County was caught by a mob, who shaved his head.

The national excise law which was passed soon afterward created the greatest excitement. Meetings were held; and in September, 1791, Robert Johnson, a collector, was tarred and feathered. An insane man named Wilson, who pretended to be a collector, was treated in the same way; and others who sympathized with the excise law or rented houses to collectors were also painted with the tar-brush. In one instance the victim was left tied to a tree in the woods. These outrages continued from time to time for several years, until on July 16, 1794, there came an open conflict with the authorities, and blood was shed.

A company of militia, numbering about thirty-six, presented themselves before the house of the inspector, General Nevelle, and, as they answered his questions in a suspicious manner, were fired upon. They returned the fire, but were obliged to retire with five of their number wounded and one killed. The next day they returned, five hundred strong, set fire to the house, and captured its occupants.

Two weeks afterward an attempt was made to capture and plunder Pittsburg. A great mass meeting was held at Braddock's Fields, and the townsmen were greatly alarmed. The country people had openly announced that they would take the town. "Sodom,"

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they said, "had been burnt by fire from heaven, but this second Sodom should be burnt by fire from earth." Countrymen coolly walked into the stores, priced the goods, and remarked that they would get them cheaper in a few days. The countrywomen said of their city sisters, "There is a fine lady, but her pride will be humbled by-and-by." Pittsburg was then a straggling village of about twelve hundred people. But in reading these accounts one would suppose it was the capital of the world, rotten to the core with wealth, luxury, and vice.

In fact, in all the speech and action of this time we can trace the effects of the French Revolution. To the Scotch-Irishman, half hunter, half farmer, with a touch of the illicit distillery, Pittsburg was Paris and the Alleghenies were France. The stray newspaper and the stray traveller had brought him the ideas of Robespierre, and he expressed them in the language of the Old Testament.

The townsmen sent a committee to the Braddock's Fields meeting to conciliate the leaders, and if possible ward off an attack. When this committee arrived at the field, a wild scene met their sight. Thousands of armed men were already on the ground, wandering about, shooting at marks, or discharging their guns in the air from mere excitement. There was a continual cracking of rifles; and the smoke hung thick in the woods and all along the banks of the river. Most of the men were dressed in hunting-shirts with handkerchiefs tied round their heads. This was the dress always adopted in Indian expeditions, and it had a distinct meaning. It was equivalent to the Indian's war-paint. During the Whiskey Rebellion, when a com-

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pany of men had been seen on the roads, it was often anxiously asked, "Had they hunting-shirts on?"

The townsmen's committee spent a long time in expostulating and humoring. But the mass meeting was determined to march to Pittsburg, and the committee had to consent and pretend it was a good thing. The town was warned by messengers, and every preparation made, not for defence, but, as Brackenridge said, "to extinguish the fire of the 'Whiskey boys'" thirst, which would prevent the necessity of having to extinguish the fire they might apply to houses. Fifty-four hundred of "the boys" were carefully led into the town by the road farthest away from the garrison, to prevent temptation and accidents. They were led through the town and camped on the outskirts of it to the eastward.

Then the work began. Every citizen who had a house, or anything valuable in a house, worked like a slave to carry provisions and buckets of whiskey to that camp. The taverns had all been closed; but their keepers were compelled to distribute their contents at the camp for nothing. None worked harder than the committee; and Brackenridge tells us that it was an expensive as well as a laborious day, and cost him four barrels of old whiskey.

Pittsburg was saved; but the insurrection had become so serious that the National Government had decided to move; and preparations were made about a week after the attempted attack on Pittsburg. It was decided to send both a commission and an army,—the commission to pacify and the army to enforce its suggestions. The commission went first, getting out to the western

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country about the middle of August. The army did not start until about the 1st of October, arriving after the commission had done its work, so that it was always debated whether there was any need for an army at all.

The commissioners called a great convention of the people and labored by every means in their power to dispose them to submission, so that there would be no need of an army. After a month of this work they had brought matters to such a pass that it was considered safe to take a canvass of the people on the 11th of September, when they were all to sign papers signifying their submission to the government. But the returns from this canvass were very unsatisfactory; and this, coupled with their own observations, gave the commissioners a very unfavorable impression of the loyalty of the people. The march of an army seemed a necessity. The Scotch-Irish had been living by themselves so long, administering their own laws and customs, and carrying on their own frontier wars, that they could not be convinced that they belonged to the National Government until the strong hand of that government was laid upon them.

Accordingly the army marched, fifteen thousand strong. No resistance was offered, and the insurrection melted away at the sight of the bayonet.

The Hot-Water Rebellion

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE HOT-WATER REBELLION

THE Scotch-Irish having had their rebellion, the Germans must needs have theirs. It was a trifling affair, however, and influenced apparently by none of the causes which had been at work in the Whiskey Rebellion.

At the time of the alien and sedition laws, which were passed during the administration of John Adams, a house-tax law was also passed, which required the measuring and registering of the panes of glass in windows. As the tax on whiskey had aroused among the Scotch-Irish the remembrance of their old-world struggles against oppression, so this house-tax law seemed to the Germans the beginning of a petty inquisitorial tyranny, like many they had suffered from in their native land.

They rapidly passed from indignation to violence. In the counties of Bucks, Montgomery, and Northampton, north of Philadelphia, they threatened and intimidated the assessors, and the law was not administered. In one instance, while an assessor was measuring a house, a woman poured hot water on him, which gave the insurrection its name. It was also called the House-Tax Rebellion, but more usually Fries' Rebellion.

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Fries was an auctioneer, with a strong voice, and accustomed to harangue and amuse a crowd. He travelled all over the country between Philadelphia and Bethlehem, conducting small sales, and gaining a very intimate acquaintance with people of all classes. He had served in the Revolution, and was a man with a certain small amount of natural leadership and a good deal of distinctive character, which was increased by a little dog called "Whiskey," his constant companion.

He understood the art of drawing attention to himself and arousing the people among whom he lived. He spoke to them vigorously and plainly against the house tax, and dressed himself in an old chapeau and plume with a pistol and sword in his belt. In this manner and accompanied by about sixty armed men, he went from place to place, marching to the sound of fife and drum, haranguing, persuading, and intimidating. He seems to have begun this course some time toward the close of the year 1798, and kept it up for many months without any interference from the government, and in that time he certainly succeeded in stirring up a great excitement.

But during his absence one day a United States marshal arrested twelve of his followers and took them to Bethlehem and Fries immediately attempted a rescue. On the 7th of March, 1799, he appeared with a hundred armed men before the Sun Inn at Bethlehem, where the prisoners were confined, and with fifes and drums playing, demanded in a most dramatic manner the surrender of his friends. He was allowed to take them, and marched away in great triumph.

But the governor now took a hand in the matter, and

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at the first appearance of a sufficient force this German rebellion, like that of the Scotch-Irish, melted away. Fries hid himself in a swamp where he might have remained a long time, but his little dog "Whiskey" betrayed him. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. A new trial was granted, and he was again convicted; but President Adams pardoned him. Some of his followers were also tried and received fines or light imprisonment.

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CHAPTER XXIX

THE CIVIL WAR

If the course of history followed the lines men lay down for it, we should expect to find that Pennsylvania had always been a land of peace, where the din of arms was never heard and skill in fighting unknown. But, strange to say, the commonwealth founded by an English peace sect, assisted by German sects of the same faith, has produced more distinguished military men,¹ manufactured more war material, and had more important battles in more different wars fought on its soil than any other State in the Union.

If we count the labor riots of recent years, the amount of fighting and bloodshed in the Quaker commonwealth is really quite extraordinary. The reader who has followed our history must be familiar with the horrors of the French and Indian Wars and the fierce fighting of the Revolution at Brandywine, Paoli, Germantown, and Mifflin. It now remains to tell of the last field of slaughter our State has seen,— Gettysburg, which, as the turning-point in the Civil War, makes good our statement of the peculiar characteristic of Pennsylvania.

There was no question as to the side on which the vast majority of our people stood in the great contest between slave and free. The inaugural addresses of

¹ See "The Making of Pennsylvania," 236.

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governors, the resolutions of the legislature, and the general expression of opinion, all breathed devotion to the Union and a determination to stop secession by force. During Secretary Floyd's administration of the War Department at Washington in the years 1859 and 1860, he was much occupied in depleting the Northern arsenals by sending their arms and ammunition to the South. From the arsenal at Springfield, Massachusetts, alone, he sent muskets enough to arm all the militiamen of Alabama and Mississippi. But when he attempted to remove from the Pittsburg arsenal forty-two Columbiads and four thirty-two-pounders, he was checked. The citizens of the town were aroused, committees appointed, and the volunteer militia companies put under arms. The excitement of the people was discreetly restrained by calling a public meeting, which sent a committee to Washington, and the order for removal of the guns was revoked.

In his memorable journey to Washington to assume the office of President, in the beginning of 1861, President Lincoln stopped at Pittsburg, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia, making many of his most characteristic addresses to the people, and inspiring much confidence by his evident sincerity and determination to settle the controversy peaceably if he could, by war if he must. In Philadelphia he raised a flag over Independence Hall, the birthplace of the Constitution he was called upon to defend. He took off his coat, in a simple backwoods fashion, and laid his hands upon the rope in an earnest way that was never forgotten by those who saw it. A month or two afterward, on April 15, when he issued his call for seventy-five thousand volunteers, Pennsylvania

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was the first to respond, and sent the first troops to Washington.

The way in which those troops went to Washington is one of the numerous instances that show how unprepared the North was for war. The national capital was in great danger of being seized by the emissaries or soldiers of the Confederacy. As soon as Governor Curtin received the call for troops, he telegraphed it all over the State, and five militia companies immediately responded,—the Ringgold Light Artillery of Reading, the Logan Guards of Lewistown, the Allen Rifles of Allentown, and the Washington Artillery and the National Light Infantry of Pottsville. The Ringgold Artillery was the first to reach Harrisburg, arriving there on the 16th, and the other four companies came in the next day. All were immediately sent off to Washington, but without arms or ammunition. Some regulars who accompanied them had muskets, and except for these there were no weapons save the sabres carried by the Ringgolds.

Arrived in Baltimore, they nearly had the same experience with the mob that soon afterward befell the Sixth Massachusetts. They were four hundred strong, but, being unarmed, had to be taken through the town with some care, and were guarded by a squad of police. Fists were brandished under their noses and every vile epithet that would rouse their temper applied. A single burst of irritation from one of them, or even a look, might have precipitated an attack. But they marched through with the indifference of veterans, reached the cars, and amid showers of stones and brickbats from the mob started on their way again.

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On their arrival at Washington, their numbers were much exaggerated, and the exaggeration undoubtedly assisted in stopping the execution of the plans for seizing the city and government. They were welcomed with great delight, supplied with arms and accoutrements, and immediately began barricading the Capitol with barrels of flour and cement.

Immediately after the call for troops had been issued by the President, Governor Curtin appointed Gen. Robert Patterson and Gen. William H. Keim to the command of all the Pennsylvania troops that were rapidly assembling. As Pennsylvania seemed so forward, General Scott, at that time at the head of the regular army, placed General Patterson with the Pennsylvania forces in command of what was called the Department of Washington, which embraced the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. Patterson's headquarters were in Philadelphia, and the primary object of his command was to protect the Capitol at Washington, and keep open the routes of communication through Maryland by which troops could be brought from the north and west.

The route through Baltimore was closed by the mob and the burning of the railroad bridges. But another route by way of Annapolis was at once secured, by which the Massachusetts and New York troops made their way to Washington. The Seventeenth Pennsylvania Regiment, with some companies of the Third Regulars, then went to Baltimore and reopened the route through that city. It remained undisturbed during the rest of the war, and poured hundreds of thousands of volunteers into the Union armies.

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Having been the first to protect the National Government and its Capitol, Pennsylvania's attention was now turned to the defence of her own southern border, upon which was the rebel State of Virginia. Maryland gave but little trouble. But where our border touched Virginia was the natural highway of the Shenandoah Valley, and one of the easiest routes for invasion from the south. The other route from the south was by way of Washington. Mountainous and impassable country lay between these two routes. The whole contest centred on the possession of one or the other of them. The North must hold them both; and if the South could break through either one or the other, it would be victorious.

The Washington line, being the most important, was long and stubbornly contested; and failing to break it, General Lee twice attempted the Shenandoah way into Pennsylvania. His defeat, first at Antietam and afterward at the battle of Gettysburg, showed that the South could break neither line and could not invade the North. This really decided the conflict; and two years afterward, when Lee was defeated by Grant and driven from the Washington line, the war was ended.

Pennsylvania sent in all to the war three hundred and sixty-six thousand men. On the first call of the President she sent her required quota of sixteen regiments. When the requirement was increased to twenty-five, she not only supplied that number, but offered thirty more, which had to be refused. In other words, if all the troops offered by the State had been accepted, they would have amounted to more than half the whole seventy-five thousand asked for by the President.

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The volunteer corps, afterward so well known as the Pennsylvania Reserves, was also authorized by the legislature at this time. It was to consist of about fifteen thousand men, to serve three years, to be carefully trained and equipped, and ready to respond to any call from the State or Nation.

It was needed sooner than was expected. The battle of Bull Run was fought July 21, 1861, the Union forces overwhelmingly defeated, and every one supposed Washington would surely be taken. The President instantly called for the Pennsylvania Reserves, and they marched. They entered Washington at the critical moment, and for the second time within four months the Keystone State secured the safety of the national capital.

The Reserves were retained by the government, and never returned to the service of the State. They became famous for their steadiness and courage, and there was no body of troops during the war that was more respected. One of their regiments, recruited in the mountainous region along the Susquehanna, wore a buck tail in their hats, and was always known as the Bucktail Regiment. Its success and popularity led to the formation of the Bucktail Brigade, which also achieved no little renown.

About a month after the battle of Antietam a raid was made into Pennsylvania by the famous Jeb Stuart, which was quite successful. With eighteen hundred horsemen and four pieces of flying artillery, he penetrated into the State as far as Chambersburg, which he easily captured, burning the warehouses, depot, machine-shops, and military stores, and retiring in safety with his booty to Virginia.

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By the spring of 1863, having recovered from the effects of the battle of Antietam, Lee was ready for his second attempt to invade Pennsylvania. Great things were expected from it. Not only would the line of railroads that brought Union troops from the west be cut, and Pittsburg, where the heavy guns were made, be taken, but it might be possible to invade the anthracite coal-fields, destroy the mining machinery, and set the mines on fire. The navy of the North, its railroads, manufacturing industries, and its homes were largely dependent on this anthracite coal supply, which lay within a circle of a few square miles in Pennsylvania, and was to be found nowhere else.

If the railroads entering this field were destroyed, the supply would be cut off for a long time. If the valuable and difficult-to-obtain machinery of the mines was destroyed, the supply would be cut off for a still longer time. But it was also possible to set on fire a mine, and the smouldering flame, once started underground, would burn for centuries, gradually destroying every vein of coal, and no human ingenuity could extinguish it. As the Richmond Whig tersely put it, Lee "might set fire to the pits, withdraw the forces sent out on this special duty, and leave the heart of Pennsylvania on fire, never to be quenched until a river is turned into the pits, or the vast supply of coal is reduced to ashes."

Sweeping up the Shenandoah Valley and driving the frightened people before him like animals escaping from a forest fire, Lee entered our State, and attempted to reach Harrisburg with part of his force, and secure the bridge across the Susquehanna at Columbia with an-

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other part. Defeated in these attempts, he selected Gettysburg as the best place to give battle to the Army of the Potomac, and began to move toward it. Meade also moved toward the same place; and Reynolds, being in the advance, met the first divisions of Lee's army just as they were about to enter the town.

A battle at once began, which has usually been called the First Day at Gettysburg. Reynolds was killed in the first fire. He was a Pennsylvanian, born at Lancaster in 1820, and served through the Mexican War, earning promotion every time he met the enemy; and when the rebellion opened, he advanced in the same steady manner, until on the day he was killed he was second in command to Meade in the Army of the Potomac.

Doubleday succeeded him in command, and continued the effort to keep up the resistance. But he was slowly driven back from Seminary Ridge, where the battle had begun, to the opposite side of Gettysburg, where, meeting the rest of the Union army, they all encamped for the night on Cemetery Hill, which was strongly fortified and proved to be the key to victory on the following day.

Lee had taken Gettysburg; but it had cost him dear. He had inflicted terrible loss on the two corps of the Union army in front of him, but his own losses had been greater, and he had driven his enemy into an impregnable position on Cemetery Hill. The next day the two armies were facing each other,—Lee on Seminary Ridge northwest of the town, and Meade southeast of the town on Cemetery and Culp's hills with his left extending southward to the Round Tops.

The morning passed away, and late in the afternoon

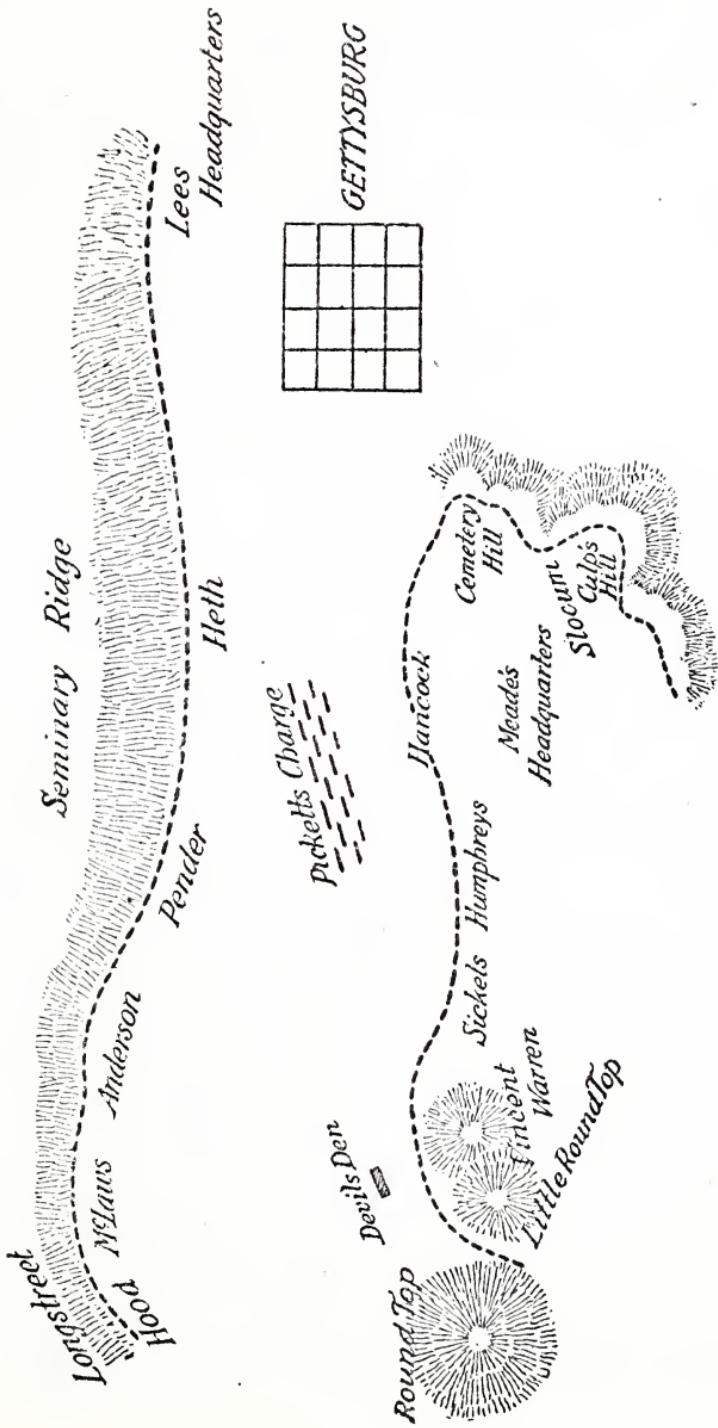
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Lee attacked the extreme Union left, which was weakly protected. Neither cavalry nor any strong fortification had been placed in that position, although the rocky eminence known as Little Round Top was in itself almost a fortress. But it was left unoccupied, and the enemy, seeing their advantage, made a dash for it. If they had taken it, they would have turned the Union flank, could easily have completed their assault on Cemetery Hill, and the day would have been lost. It was saved at the last moment by the wise foresight of Warren and the almost superhuman exertions of Vincent; and the fighting at this point, which included the famous Devil's Den, was the most furious of the whole war. The Union troops fought from behind stone walls and inflicted terrible slaughter on the Confederates as they rushed to the charge.

Soon after this the Union right was attacked by the Louisiana Tigers, who, rushing through the volleys of musketry, sprang over the walls among the men, spiking guns and fighting hand to hand. Darkness had come, and there was a fierce confusion of men fighting with clubbed muskets, stones, and rammers, the Pennsylvanians shouting to one another that they must die on the soil of their State rather than yield. What might have been the result would be difficult to say if Carroll's brigade had not come to the rescue, restored the men to their guns, and driven back the enemy. The Tigers lost nearly half their numbers, and were never again heard of in the war.

The next day, the third of the battle, Lee, finding that he had succeeded only in driving Meade into a more compact position, in which all the weak points were

BATTLE FIELD OF GETTYSBURG.



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being rapidly discovered and secured, decided to risk everything on one final desperate charge with Pickett's division. The point he selected for attack was on Cemetery Hill, about the centre of the Union line; and bringing all his artillery of one hundred and fifty guns to bear on that one spot, he cannonaded it with terrible intensity. Shells and solid shot hissed and burst in every direction, smashing the Union guns, exploding their ammunition, and disembowelling men and horses. Then, when the road was thought to be cut open, Pickett rushed in, eighteen thousand strong.

It was one of the most desperate and remarkable charges in the annals of war. But again the Union soldiers were behind those loose stone walls that bound so many fields round Gettysburg. The musketry fire of the Confederates as they came up spattered against the rocks in vain. The artillery that had reserved itself poured upon them its shrapnel and canister, and the men in blue behind the walls waited for the near and deadly distance.

"In a few moments," says Professor Jacobs, who was watching from Gettysburg, "a tremendous roar, proceeding from the simultaneous discharge of thousands of muskets and rifles, shook the earth; then in the portion of the line nearest us, a few, then more, and then still more rebels, in all to the number of about two hundred, were seen moving backwards towards the point from which they had so defiantly proceeded; and at last two or three men carrying a single battle-flag, which they had saved from capture, and several officers on horseback followed by fugitives. The wounded and dead were seen strewn amongst the grass and grain; men with stretchers stealthily picking up and carrying the former

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to the rear; and officers for a moment contemplating the scene with evident amazement, and riding rapidly towards the Seminary Ridge. . . . So sudden and complete was the slaughter and capture of nearly all of Pickett's men that one of his officers who fell wounded among the first on the Emmettsburg road, and who characterized the charge as foolish and mad, said that when, in a few moments afterwards, he was enabled to rise and look about him, the whole division had disappeared as if blown away by the wind."

Pickett's division was annihilated. A large number of them surrendered; most of the rest were left dead or wounded on the grass; and thus ended the battle of Gettysburg, which had raged for three days, — the 1st, 2d, and 3d of July.

The Pre-eminence of Philadelphia

CHAPTER XXX

THE PRE-EMINENCE OF PHILADELPHIA

THE history of Philadelphia ought to be very instructive, as that of an old American city, of extremely rapid growth in its early years, surpassing all other cities of the continent, attracting the attention and admiration of the whole civilized world for its success, liberality, and devotion to science, becoming the metropolis of the country, and enjoying the highest reputation for progress, and after that, suffering a decay and a loss of spirit and enterprise, and becoming a by-word for backwardness and slowness. The causes of such a change, if we could only discover them, would certainly be valuable knowledge.

The part of this change most frequently discussed is the loss of our commerce. Ship-building and trading with the West Indies and England were among the first occupations of the colonists. In the very beginning, before the forests were cut away, one of the most profitable things for a settler to do was to combine with a few others, build a small ketch or a snow, and carry the farm produce of the Swedes to the South. As the land was cleared by the English, such business became more and more profitable. Timber was abundant, and it became a common practice to build a ship, freight her, and sell ship and cargo in the West Indies or England.

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Commerce grew steadily all through the colonial period, assisted by the reputation of the colony for its products, and by the encouragement given by the home government to privateering during the wars with France and Spain. Commercial transactions became large, developed the first strong desire for banking institutions that was felt on the American continent, and produced Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution.

This success continued after the colonies became independent, and Philadelphia rose to be the common emporium of the United States. She had her India Wharf at Walnut Street, and the list of places regularly visited by her ships included nearly all the commercial marts of the world. Enormous fortunes were made. It was in that period that Stephen Girard amassed his \$10,000,000, and became the richest man in the Union. Ten millions is a trifle now; but in that day it attracted as much attention and created as much astonishment as the \$100,000,000 or \$200,000,000 of a Vanderbilt or a Gould. Until recently old people were still alive in different parts of the country, who could remember the excitement and talk about Girard and his money; his will, contested by Daniel Webster; his orphan college and his supposed atheism.

But Girard was not the only man who profited. A large number of the families who have formed an important part of that society in Philadelphia which has so long been famous for its refinement can trace their wealth and their importance to those years of commercial supremacy, as any list of the old merchants and shipowners clearly shows.

This flourishing state of affairs lasted up to the War

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of 1812, which temporarily destroyed all American commerce, and Philadelphia was not able to recover from the shock. Some of the old merchants still clung to their calling; but the business steadily decayed. The exports, which had been \$17,500,000 in 1796, and \$31,000,000 in 1806, had by the year 1843 sunk to \$2,300,000, and looked as if they would disappear altogether. It is pathetically reported in the history of the times that the last ship of the old trade to make the voyage to Canton and return was the "Globe," which went out in 1832 and came back in 1833. The "Osage" sailed for Canton in 1842; but on her return she went to New York, and that was the end. The great days of China and the Indies were gone.

The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 doubtless assisted in this decay, for it gave New York the advantage of receiving the vast freightage of the western lakes. A large part of the energy and wealth that had been in Philadelphia commerce at that time is said to have turned itself toward internal improvements in railroads and canals, intended to tap the resources of the West, as New York had tapped them with the Erie.

But although these railroads and canals were an advantage to the State to a certain extent, they proved of but small gain to the city, which seemed to have lost all skill in turning things to account. The railroads, instead of delivering their freight in Philadelphia, to build up the city's wealth and restore commerce, carried their freight straight through the State and delivered it in New York. They became mere conduit pipes for passing trade through the State instead of into it. As Philadelphia became more and more of a manufacturing

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town, the products of such industries, instead of increasing her own commerce, were all sent to New York for sale and shipment; and even to this day Philadelphians travel all the way to New York to buy articles which are manufactured in their own city.

At the same time that we were achieving such success in commerce after the Revolution, our city was also becoming the great book-publishing centre of the country. The great publishing-houses were there, and it was also the headquarters for the successful magazines, like the "Portfolio" and "Graham's," which during the early part of the present century occupied the position now filled by the "North American," "Forum," "Century," "Harper's," and others. Longfellow, Bryant, Cooper, Willis, Lowell, and Poe, then young men rising into fame, were among the contributors to these old Philadelphia periodicals. It was supposed at one time that a magazine could not succeed unless it was printed and mailed between the Delaware and the Schuylkill; and when "Harper's" was started in New York, its failure was prophesied because it was not within the limits of the magazine city.

The combination of all these elements of progress — the scientific research, the great medical schools, the flourishing commerce, and the literary activity — made Philadelphia a very attractive city; and this condition was intensified when after the Revolution the National Government was established there. The lawyers then became pre-eminent as well as the doctors, and the high reputation of the Philadelphia bar lasted until far down into the present century.

We find the city at that time bearing the marks of a

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general ascendancy in all things. It was famous for the excellence of its schemes of philanthropy, charitable organizations, and prison discipline, which were the first and the best in the country, and set the standard for other places. The first American novelist who was also the first American to adopt literature as a profession was Charles Brockden Brown, a Philadelphian. The first American theatre was established there; the first medical, and the first legal periodical, the first medical school, the first hospital, the first circulating library, the first law school, as well as the first banking company and the first fire and life insurance companies.

But all this progressiveness and prominence passed away. The commerce, as we have already seen, had sunk to almost nothing by the year 1843. The publishing business soon after went to other cities. One by one the old ascendancies were lost, and the city, instead of its former reputation for progress, became known as the most backward city for its size on the continent; and its people, instead of being known the world over for their liberality and enlightenment, began to be accused of narrowness.

This slowness of Philadelphia has often been blamed on the Quakers, but without much justice. In the days of her ascendancy the city was largely controlled by Quakers; and in the list of persons who developed her prominence we usually find a large proportion plain Quakers, and many of the others Quakers in transit to Episcopacy. During the present century, while the city was becoming slow, the Quakers were rapidly disappearing, and other kinds of people taking their place in influence and control. As the backwardness of the

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city has become more and more apparent the more the Quakers have been driven from power, it is hardly fair to say that the backwardness is their fault.

Indeed, although the Quakers have been gradually disappearing ever since the Revolution, there is still among the remnant of them a large number who are among our most progressive and enlightened people, leaders of movements for better municipal government, organizers of charity and benevolence, heads of substantial business and industrial firms, and shining examples of honesty, good taste, and conservatism. In the matter of education they are more progressive than they were before the Revolution, as three colleges — Swarthmore, Haverford, and Bryn Mawr — clearly testify.

Nor will the building of the Erie Canal, which gave New York such an advantage in commerce, altogether account for the change. It may partially account for the change in commerce, but not entirely even for that. Philadelphia commerce, like the commerce of all other American ports, was greatly impaired by the War of 1812. The other places, however, like Boston, Baltimore, and New Orleans, were able to revive after the war and even to increase their trade. But Philadelphia could not recover; her commerce kept declining, and the building of the Erie Canal was merely an additional blow.

Another severe blow was the failure of the United States Bank in 1841. The people had become accustomed to relying on it, it had become a part of the city, and its downfall spread ruin on all sides. But we would in the natural course of things have recovered from this disaster, as other places have recovered from similar

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calamities; and neither the disaster to the bank nor the Erie Canal, nor both of them together, will explain the situation; for the ability of our people seemed to be changed. The spirit of enterprise and progressiveness was gone, and they seemed like a new race. Their losses extended beyond commerce and beyond anything that the Erie Canal would explain. All their ascendancies passed away from them, and they seemed to have a totally different character and mind.

The truth is they were a different set of people, and the old set had disappeared. At the time of the Revolution the political government of Pennsylvania and the social influence of Philadelphia were in the hands of certain classes, and had been in their hands ever since the foundation of the colony. The Quakers controlled the Assembly, and made of it a very conservative body. The members, though elected yearly, often held their seats for a long time, and acquired a position and dignity unknown in our modern rapidly changing legislatures. The Speaker usually held office for many years, and became, like the Speaker of Parliament, a person of much importance in the community. The executive portion of the government, the judgeships, and other offices were in the control of the proprietors, who usually appointed Episcopalians to fill the places; and here also the terms of service were long, and the class who held them acquired much influence and power.

It was by such people as these among the Quakers and Episcopalians that Philadelphia was built up and made the great and progressive city she was at the time of the Revolution. Her rulers may have been some-

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what arrogant from the long possession of power; but there is no question of their ability, their enlightenment, and their devotion to the best interests of the city. The position their city occupied speaks for them and proves their capacity beyond a doubt.

They, however, neglected one point. They provided means for their own education by private schools and the College of Philadelphia. But the other people of the province, being without any general system of schools or education of any sort, grew up in great ignorance, and had but little voice in the government of the province, and none at all in the government of the city. The governing classes not only failed to provide for the education of the masses of the population, but they kept them from political power. All through the colonial period it was the continual complaint of the frontier counties that they had not their fair representation in the Assembly, and that their wishes and needs were disregarded. When the Scotch-Irish marched to Germantown to seize the Indians whom the Quakers were protecting, they again with arms in their hands made this demand for representation, and were again denied or put off with excuses. Thus the Quakers and Episcopalian prepared for themselves a day of vengeance when a turn in affairs should put the masses in power.

It is only fair to say, however, that some attempt was made to educate the mass of the people. The Episcopalian and the proprietary party, under the lead of Provost Smith, and assisted by Franklin and others, established schools for the education of the Germans, which were successful for a few years and contained a

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large number of pupils. But the opposition of the majority of the Germans and the coming on of the French and Indian Wars soon destroyed this solitary endeavor at anything like general public education.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, therefore, the population of the province was divided into a progressive and comparatively well-educated ruling class, composed of Quakers and Episcopalians, who had always been in power and knew no other life, and the great mass of the populace, who were unaccustomed to power and were very illiterate.

In his book on the "History of Education in Pennsylvania," Wickersham tells us that at the beginning of the Revolution the education of the masses in Pennsylvania was at a lower ebb than it had ever been before. The educated people among them that had come from the old country had died off, and their children had had few, if any, opportunities to improve themselves. The better classes among the Quakers and Episcopalians in Philadelphia were rather well educated,—the Episcopalians by private tutors, small schools, and the college; and the Quakers at their own schools. But outside in the counties there were only six private schools for all the rest of the province, although some of these which were conducted by the Presbyterians were very good. They educated, however, only the better classes; and the number of pupils at all these schools, including those in Philadelphia and at the college, is estimated by Wickersham at not above four hundred in a population of three hundred and fifty thousand. The rest of the people were in darkness.

This unfortunate condition was fully understood by

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a few able men like Provost Smith and Franklin; but they seem to have been powerless to remedy it. William Penn had had some very advanced and excellent ideas on the subject of general public education which he had embodied in the Charter; but they had never been carried out. No attempt was made at any systematic common-school system; few of the people seemed to understand or value it; and many, especially among the Germans, were unalterably opposed to it.

The Revolution wrought great changes in Philadelphia; and as we have seen in previous chapters, the Quakers were completely driven from power. The people who took their places were Presbyterians and others who had long been kept from power and had cultivated a bitter hatred for the ruling classes. They were under the leadership of Reed, who was himself a Presbyterian and a stranger in the State.

The Episcopalians, who represented the executive and proprietary side of the government as the Quakers did the legislative side, were equally the objects of dislike among the Presbyterians and those who felt themselves deprived of their share in government. Some of the Episcopalians, being closely allied with the proprietary interest, turned Tory and left the country; others, while sympathizing with the patriot cause, were disgusted to see the province in the control of what they thought a set of disorderly, ignorant upstarts, who had no experience in government and no reverence for the past. They could not act with such people, who were tearing the province to pieces, although, like them, they believed in the Revolution. Some of them hung back so much that they were considered Tories.

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Others, like Robert Morris and Wilson, tried to take part in the national movement and at the same time cling to the old regular and orderly conditions of the province, and suffered accordingly.

But the result was that as a class they were utterly driven from power, and their descendants, like the descendants of the Quakers, could not restore the old ascendancy. Their stronghold in colonial times had been the college. But the moment Reed and his party reached supreme power in the Commonwealth, the charter of this valuable institution was annulled and its property confiscated. It was a severe blow to the slender means of education, and the State was long in recovering from it.

Philadelphia during the Revolution was ruled by a mob. For although Reed, Cadwalader, McKean, Mifflin, Dr. James Hutchinson, and others who acted with the mob were men of education and sense, they could not restrain their followers, had to yield to their desires to control them at all, and were powerless to alter events. Men like Robert Morris, John Dickinson, and James Wilson, who believed in the Revolution, but wanted it conducted in Philadelphia rather differently from the methods of the mob, were often in a dangerous position.

The success of the Revolution strengthened the control of the new people, and they began to increase and fill all the avenues of life. At first their hold was only political, and the old set retained much influence socially and also in trade and business. They could not be completely destroyed at once. The work they had done and the moral effect and influence of it continued for some time. Indeed, for a few years after the Revo-

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lution closed, there was a slight reaction in their favor. Dickinson returned from Delaware and was made President of the State,—an office which nearly corresponded with that of our modern governor.

The presence of the National Government, which had its home in the city until 1800, was also an assistance to the remains of the old set, and gave them a position and importance they might not have had without it. But their hold was slight; they were no longer encouraged by the consciousness of power and success; and soon after the year 1800 the new people began to take their places in everything. The old set grew weaker and weaker, though retaining portions of their influence down to the War of 1812, which was a severe blow to them in the commercial interest, and by the year 1820 their functions as a class were extinguished.

The man of them who seems to have retained the old-fashioned influence longest was Bishop White. He had been a young Episcopal clergyman during the Revolution and had acted a very discreet part. It was known that he favored the patriot cause, although as a clergyman he declined to take any prominent part in it. Perfect in his tact and of much personal attraction, he rose afterward to a very distinguished position, and far down into the present century we find him presiding at political meetings, and treated by all parties and persons with a respect and regard to which no one of his class has since been able to attain.

The new people had been quite effective in their way in the Revolution; but when it came to taking charge of the city, continuing its progressiveness and fame, and filling the places of the former rulers, they were a

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lamentable failure. It had been possible to assist the Revolution by mob excitement and the wild passions of ignorance, but the real greatness of Philadelphia could not be continued by such methods. The new people were a very inferior people, made up from the masses, who all through the colonial period had been kept from education and power.

They were alike incapable in business and in government. When the commerce was impaired by the War of 1812, they could not restore it. The publishing business, in which the city was pre-eminent, slipped away, like the commerce, to other places, and one by one the old ascendancies were lost. The city which had once been known as the cleanest in the United States rapidly became the dirtiest.

The old rulers had always believed that nothing was too good for their city, and had always demanded the highest excellence in everything. The new men were just the reverse. Recruited from the classes who had never had education, or were opposed to it on principle, they believed that inferior things were, after all, the best, and they were determined to have them. Progress and advancement had been well enough for the arrogant old colonial rulers, but a new and simpler way had now been discovered, the way of mediocrity. So thoroughly did they succeed in establishing this love of mediocrity that it pervaded the whole life of the city, and began to disappear only within the last ten or fifteen years.

After the year 1820 began the great influx of foreign immigrants, adding new forces of disunion and ignorance, and bringing in large numbers of men who cared nothing for our past and were naturally suspicious. Dis-

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order, riot, and bloodshed were now to be added to the other evils of the new order.

The volunteer fire companies, which had been started by Franklin in 1736, had always been valuable aids in saving property, and previous to 1825 were composed of respectable people, and were most orderly and efficient. But after 1825 they rapidly became a curse, were filled with men of the roughest and lowest character, who saw in the calamity of a fire an opportunity to fight their rival companies and pillage the burning house. It became a common occurrence for them to fight one another on the way to the fire with paving-stones and fire-arms; fires were often deliberately started to give them a chance, and Sunday was not infrequently selected as a proper day for this amusement.

Arrived at the burning building, they would fight for the possession of a fire plug while the flames were gaining headway; and when at last they began their operations, there was so much rivalry among them in throwing water that they often ruined more goods with it than were destroyed by the fire. They allowed thieves to wear their uniform and enter the houses; they became a power in politics, levied contributions on the city, the insurance companies and individuals, under the fear that they might do even worse things than were already done. They had been known to refuse to extinguish fires that had been lighted by mobs. Their power was so complete that there was scarcely a newspaper in the city that dared stand out against them; they maintained their supremacy for nearly fifty years, and were not finally abolished by the growing intelligence of the people until 1870.

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Along with the rise of the brigand firemen came the Schuylkill Rangers and other gangs of desperadoes and footpads which ruled the nights in certain districts. District fought with district; the boys imitated their elders, and the frequent stone fights are well remembered by many persons now living. The City of Brotherly Love, the home of the gentle Quaker, became one of the roughest cities in the Union. The period 1840 to 1850 seems to have been the time when the results of the changes reached their lowest ebb in all respects, and in that time the rioting and disorder were very serious.

Richard Rush, a very prominent man of that time, had left Philadelphia in 1811 to begin his long official and diplomatic career under the National Government. He went away, leaving his native city still the metropolis of America, the leader in every element of progress. He returned in 1851, and in a letter written to Eli K. Price, he describes his surprise and disappointment on finding the city sunk to third place and continuing to lose ground.

The worst rioting began in 1835, when a negro boy attempted to kill a white man with whom he lived. There had in previous years been attacks on the negroes, and this incident was all that was needed to inflame the worst passions among the ignorant and brutal masses that had been collecting in the city. For two nights the mob hunted the negroes, maiming and mangling them, destroying and burning their houses, and preventing the firemen from extinguishing the flames until most of the poor creatures had been driven beyond the limits of the town.

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Three years after, in 1838, a similar mob attacked "Pennsylvania Hall," where an antislavery convention of women was meeting, and burned it to the ground. The mayor was warned of the danger, but made no attempt at defence. The next night the mob burned the Friends' Shelter for Colored Children, and the following morning the Bethel Colored Church. In 1842 there were similar riots against the colored people, and again in 1849, in which halls and churches were burned without the slightest attempt at protection by the authorities. In 1843 there were labor riots in Kensington; and although the sheriff went out with his posse to subdue them, he was overwhelmingly defeated, saved his own life only by concealment, and the rioters had free scope to destroy the machinery, which was the object of their vengeance.

In 1844 occurred the native American and Catholic riots, which lasted with intermittent intervals for several months, and would require for their description a separate chapter. They resembled mediæval wars or the fights of the Revolutionists in the streets of Paris. The fighting in the streets with the militia continued sometimes day and night. Churches, houses, and seminaries were destroyed. The mob had cannon, which they loaded with old iron and bottles, and moved silently with muffled wheels in the darkness to be fired suddenly upon the soldiers. When the soldiers learned to fire where they had seen the flash of the cannon, the mob used slow-matches, and with long ropes drew the cannon back to be reloaded. They fired from windows and house-tops, and drew ropes across the street to throw the cavalry.

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Judge Porter, in his essay on Chief Justice Gibson, has very concisely summed up the condition of affairs in those years:—

“The people of the State, and perhaps of the Union, will not soon forget the popular commotions which prevailed in Philadelphia between the years 1836 and 1846. We had the Abolition riots, the Railroad riots, the Negro riots, the Weaver’s riots, the Native American riots, and the Military riots. Having run short of names, territorial designations were adopted, and we had the Moyamensing, Southwark, and Kensington riots. Interspersed with these were the riots of various fire companies, who seemed to have achieved little distinction until their members had been bound over to each successive term of Quarter Sessions.”¹

All the disorder, mismanagement, and riot were greatly increased by the extraordinary condition into which the government of the city had been allowed to develop. The original city had been a small territory two miles long and a mile wide, bounded on the north by Vine Street, on the south by South Street, and extending east and west from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, containing about 1,280 acres. With the increase of population spreading out beyond these limits, new districts were created; and as time went on whole boroughs and townships were organized, each one contiguous to the city without being absorbed by it, and allowed to retain more or less of its former local government and authority.

Thus Southwark was incorporated in 1762, Northern Liberties in 1771, Moyamensing in 1812, Spring Garden in 1813, Kensington in 1820, Penn in 1844, Richmond

¹ Essay on Gibson, 87.

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in 1847, West Philadelphia in 1851, and Belmont in 1853. Then there were the boroughs of Germantown, Frankford, Manayunk, White Hall, Bridesburg, and Aramingo; and the townships of Passyunk, Blockley, Kingsessing, Roxborough, Germantown, Bristol, Oxford, Lower Dublin, Moreland, Northern Liberties, Byberry, Delaware, and Penn.

All these twenty-eight divisions acting with the original city as the twenty-ninth division, and the county as the thirtieth, tried to create a sort of general government for the whole, which resulted in ten or more other bodies, — County Commissioners, Guardians of the Poor, Board of Health, Port Wardens, School Boards, Prison Inspectors, Board of Police, and others with more or less irresponsible and undefined powers, which made the confusion still greater. There were in all about forty corporate, or quasi-corporate, bodies to govern the people, overlapping in their jurisdiction and intertwined with one another in such a manner that their powers and doings could not be understood by the citizens, and could with difficulty be unravelled even by those who had made the subject the study of their lives.

It was disputed whether it was the duty of the mayor or of the sheriff to put down riots. In a walk or drive of two miles, a citizen might come under three or four different sets of regulations. Thieves and rioters stepped over an imaginary line in the middle of a street and laughed defiance at the police. The city was illiberal to the districts, and the districts retaliated. If a mob came out of the city to pillage and burn in a district, the commissioners of the district did not consider themselves responsible for what happened.

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There were nineteen distinct sets of taxes, each with its army of collectors to gather it in the most expensive way, and there were at least twelve distinct debts. Each division had its own customs and code, its petty jealousy for all the others, and its fire companies and gangs of rowdies ready at all times to fight for their imaginary supremacy. Each district attempted to provide everything for itself at great waste and expense. Not only was it impossible to administer police regulations with any effect, but it was difficult to unite even the better classes for any important municipal purpose, for all were more or less affected with local jealousy, their minds narrowed by the ignorance and barbarism which surrounded them, and their energies fettered by the system to which they had grown accustomed.

This widespread disintegration had reached a dreadful condition by 1840; and the riots that followed called attention to it more strongly than ever, and at last aroused the energies of what remained of the enlightened people. The city was sinking rapidly, and from the first place had fallen to the second in wealth and the fourth in population. A reform movement was organized and debated for ten years before anything could be accomplished. It was not until 1854 that the Consolidation Act was passed, which wiped out at one stroke the whole vicious system, and has been rightfully regarded as the refounding of Philadelphia. It may be added that the most active leader of this movement, its representative in the State Senate, and its historian, was Eli K. Price, a plain Quaker of the old school.

Without the Consolidation Act Philadelphia would soon have sunk to a mere collection of villages. It

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was a measure essential to existence, and cleared the ground for restoration. The divisions and confusions of the old system continued among the people for a long time, and have only recently passed away. Indeed, we are not yet, by any means, a homogeneous people. We still retain a large part of the habits and tone of thought engendered by long years of divisions, cliques, and sects; and the foreign immigration of modern times has not tended to mitigate them.

Although the Consolidation Act gave authority to adopt a paid fire department, the brigand volunteer system was at first only mitigated, and not abolished until 1870. One of the most powerful causes of all the trouble had been the lack of education for the masses of the people, and that cause has been overcome only in recent years. The attempts to overcome it began before the reform movement for consolidation, and continued afterward.

After the Revolution was over, the deplorable condition of education was fully appreciated by many people. During the seven years of the Revolution, there seems to have been no education at all, and very little of it for some years after. The College of Philadelphia, destroyed by the new party in 1779, was, in 1789, restored to its rights, and for some time existed side by side with the University of the State of Pennsylvania, which had been created by the new party to supply its place. The two institutions antagonized each other, and were useless. In 1794, they were combined in the present University of Pennsylvania, which led a crippled existence until raised to life by Provost Stillé after the Civil War.

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The Episcopal Academy was founded in 1785, in the hope of partially supplying the loss of the college; and in 1783 the Presbyterians founded Dickinson College at Carlisle. But these were not attempts at the general education of the people. They were merely efforts to restore the sort of limited education for the better classes which had existed before the Revolution.

After 1790 there was considerable activity to establish general public education; but the nature of the attempts shows how utterly inexperienced in the subject everybody was. At first the efforts accomplished nothing but grants of land or money from the legislature. For a long time the only system that could be adopted was to assist the church and neighborhood schools that sprang up here and there. Then academies, something like the colonial Presbyterian academies, were founded in the different counties, and each of them compelled to give free instruction to five or ten poor children. Soon a more general plan was attempted; but by the frequent use of the words "poor" and "gratis" it cast such a stigma of pauperism on the parents of any children who attended the schools that it was a failure. It was not until 1834, after years of controversy and struggle and the most determined opposition from the Germans and others, that the free common-school system was at last adopted for the whole State.

Any one who reads the story of that struggle, and the difficulties that attended the adoption of a system so evidently beneficial, will have the key to many things in the history of our State which are otherwise unexplainable. Nothing else but the adoption of that

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system has raised Philadelphia from the slough into which she had sunk by the year 1840.

The effect of general public education was of course not immediate. The instruction was at first inferior. Two generations had to be brought under the influence of the system before anything very definite was accomplished; and it is only within the last fifteen or twenty years that we have begun to feel its best effects.

The Centennial Exhibition of 1876 was a great assistance and a powerful reinforcement to our public education. It was like adding a university course to the common schools. It enlarged the minds of the people, appealed to their tastes, their sense of beauty and their feelings, and went a long way toward destroying that extraordinary opinion that there is something essentially impractical and wrong in beauty of design, and high excellence, and distinction.

Certain it is that within the last few years we have experienced a revival of intellectual life; and the forces of the city are apparently becoming more united and are being inspired anew. Our commerce has been gradually restored; and though not yet in the supreme condition it was before the War of 1812, it is far in advance of the decay and hopelessness of 1840. Our manufacturing interests, which have always existed in some form, have since the Civil War been inspired with new life and grown to enormous proportions; and the men whom they are raising to wealth and influence will play an important part in the development of the next hundred years. Our architecture is rapidly improving, and there are signs of better ideas in widening and laying out streets and abolishing grade crossings.

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Indeed, within the last few years the city has begun to put on a totally different appearance. The people in favor of honest municipal government are becoming more united, more effective in organization, and have already in the last fifteen years accomplished decided reforms. Our college, which was ruined in the Revolution, has been restored by Provost Stillé, and within the last ten years raised to a still stronger position by Provost Pepper and Provost Harrison. The manufacturing interests of the city, which were scattered over a wide extent of territory, are being centralized and made more effective by the Bourse. The islands in front of the city have been cut away, the harbor enlarged and deepened, the navigation of the river improved, the wharves extended and connected with the railroad system by the belt line.

The men who are now rising into importance and prominence are educated men; and they will in the future have an educated population to support them. The discussion, of which we hear so much, about a new Philadelphia, has a meaning, and seems to mark a turning-point in municipal history. There are many signs of unity and enlightenment which have been gradually gathering force since the public-school system and the Consolidation Act were adopted; and there is every reason to suppose that they will continue and increase until pre-eminence is restored.

The Consolidation Act has been reinforced in recent years by the Bullitt Bill, as the new city charter is called. After the consolidation of the city, in 1855, some of the old forces of disunion continued to work, and the city government gradually again grew complicated,

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until there were twenty-five departments more or less independent of each other, and the mayor a mere figure-head with none of the controlling powers of an executive officer. Agitation for a reform began about 1877, and the Bullitt Bill passed in 1885, and went into force in 1887. It reduced the departments to nine, made them report to the mayor, gave him power to investigate their conduct and to remove officials. A steady improvement has since been observed in the whole city government.

It required forty or fifty years to overcome and undo the good work of the old colonial rulers, and reduce the city to the decay of 1840; and it has naturally required about the same length of time to restore and renew and bring us to the state we might have reached long ago if the old conditions had gone on in their regular course.

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